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National Anti-Slavery Standard.

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National Anti-Slavery Standard.

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Pro-Slavery.

In this Department we give place to such extracts from the Pro-Slavery Press, North and South, as serve best to illustrate the character of Slavery and the spirit of its champions and apologists.

LECTURES AND LECTURERS.

From The Journal of Commerce.

AMONG the few things and people that are not taxed are lectures and lecturers. Why Congress overlooked them we cannot imagine, unless because so many of the honorable members fill up the leisure evenings of the Congressional recess by lecturing before literary associations in the small towns of their districts at $50 a night. It could never have been objected to such a tax that it was imposed on "knowledge," and therefore odious, for no one will gravely assert that lecturers, as a class, trade in that article. Besides, the tax-bill shows that knowledge is, of all things, the most heavily burdened, as witness the various taxes which combine to strangle the prosperity of newspapers. The supposition which we have advanced is clearly the only reasonable one. We would not undertake to say how much would be an equitable annual license for lecturers; but, as they require no outfit beyond a carpet bag and a quire of paper to set up in business, and their receipts are nearly all profits, their license fee ought, in common fairness, to be larger than that of tradesmen who are employing a large capital and paying taxes in a dozen other ways. Theatres are annually taxed for a license $100 and circuses $50. We do not suppose that lecturers (with a few exceptions) will claim to be more useful or entertaining than the one or the other. The number of people who take to lecturing for a living is large, and the treasury has lost a considerable revenue by this neglect on the part of Congress. The absence of a tax on lecturers will also have the unfortunate effect of increasing the number of that nomadic tribe from the ranks of the unsuccessful members of other trades and professions. This will increase the evil of which we have to complain. And so Congress does injustice to the country in two ways.

We do not undertake to explain why it is that so large a proportion of these strolling orators are Abolitionists, radicals, reformers of one stripe or another. Perhaps it is because conservative men are, as a class, more fixed in their professional aims, more business-like in their habits—in other words more inclined to stick to their legitimate calling, than to mix up lecturing with their regular pursuits, even though distant village committees beset them with liberal promises to pay. Whatever the reason, the fact remains that by far the larger proportion of the brotherhood of lecturers are persons who ride mad hobbies of their own and insist on everybody else mounting behind them. They are never at peace with themselves, unless they are at war with a majority of mankind. Whatever the nominal subject of their lectures, the real theme is always their private and particular views of some vexatious social, moral or religious question, presented in the most offensive way that their ingenuity can devise. They do this, firstly, because they like to; and secondly, because the people who mostly attend lectures are accustomed to turgid rhetoric, and savage epithets, and would miss these condiments. Every kind of literature has its fashion, changing not quite so often, but sometimes as capriciously, as the cut of a coat or the shape of a hat. The fashion of lectures is exaggeration in statement and delivery. How to say the boldest thing in the most telling way is a study with the professional lecturer.

If, having paid 25 or 50 cents to hear one of these platform talkers, he travels out of his path to insult your political, moral or religious convictions, with some deliberate, studied phrase of concentrated hatred and contempt, you venture to express your dissent in a mild hiss, what does he do? He has now the occasion that he has long been looking for. His ear has been itching for that hiss from the opening of the lecture. Rash man! you have unknowingly given him his greatest opportunity. He steps forward to the edge of the platform, stands on his toes, and, looking down at you with piercing eyes, says: "There are only two creatures on the earth who hiss—geese and snakes, and I'm not afraid of either!" All the radical lecturers answer all hisses with substantially this reply. It is their strong point; and they will sometimes, we doubt not, imagine a hiss for the sake of bringing it in. Properly delivered, it has a powerful effect, and has been known to carry a dull lecturer safely through. It is unanswerable, because the admirers of the lecturer, who always (by the force of sympathy in his known views) constitute a majority of his audience, will give a man no chance to answer. They will hoot, stamp or hiss him down, and if, in the face of this reprobation, he still undertakes to justify himself, the chances are about even whether he will get to the outside of the building by the stairs or the window. They will vindicate freedom of speech to any conceivable extent, but it must be freedom of speech all on their side. In such a dilemma, a quiet man's best course is to take up his hat and walk out, thanking fortune that he has been swindled out of no more than a quarter or half a dollar.

It is not advisable to hiss at lectures, even though in retaliation of the most wanton insults. The better course is to leave the hall quietly, not so much for the purpose of signifying your disagreement with the lecturer as to save yourself from further annoyance. The lecturer is quite indifferent to your reprobation. He may, indeed, as we have already shown, turn it to good account. A single hiss duly taken advantage of, has been known to cause such a general rally of the lecturer's friends to his rescue as to call for the repetition of his old story three or four nights in succession. Therefore, don't play into his hands by making a martyr of him. Rather stay away from his lecture the next time he appears in your city, town or village. Keep aloof from him, under whatever name he may disguise his ferocious and quarrelsome radicalism. Don't give him any more quarters or halves. Then you have a noble revenge, and inflict upon him the only retributive blow that he is likely to feel.

PRO-SLAVERY "LOYALTY" IN KENTUCKY.

From The Frankfort (Ky.) Commonwealth.

THE President's proclamation ought to be crammed down his throat, if he will not withdraw it, as a flagrant violation of his official oath, according to his own declarations. We ought not to allow such a move to be made with impunity. Whenever a governor disobeys his constitutional obligations, he should be first and worst punished.

The check upon radicalism should be made with a firm hand. Let us see what their duties are. There is a confiscation bill, involving a military commission which ought to be repealed. No confiscation bill is necessary under an active General. He occupies the country, takes supplies, for which he gives bonds of the government, payable at some time after date. Of course, every person who furnishes supplies becomes interested in upholding the government, as the value of his funds in the market is affected by it. There is a place more sacred with the majority of such than the heart. It is the stomach, though vice-treasurer, the pocket, that controls. Make it to a man's pecuniary interest to uphold a government, and he is very apt to do so. The rebels have used this power with great effect. They forced every man in the South to take their bonds. It was less an object to take the goods without pay, than to take them and give a note of the Confederacy. The one would only exasperate, the other would appeal, under the specious name of Southern independence, to his pocket. If our government, instead of passing confiscation bills, had scattered greenbacks liberally for supplies, every man who sold to it could find a weighty reason in his pocket for supporting the government. We speak of it now, not as referring to the eternal nigger, but to any class of property. But Congress, with a willful blindness, has made this a prominent point. The negro must be freed. Upon this point the South was and is sensitive and irritable. A series of acts of radicals North, taken advantage of in the South by demagogues, has inflamed the minds of the people, and made them believe a war of invasion, subjugation and extermination was being waged upon them. Once get this conviction thoroughly inground in a people, and you may exterminate, but you cannot subdue them. Under these circumstances the first duty of the government was to show, by every means possible, that such was not the purpose of the war, and should not be made so. This cause of irritation, by the instrumentality of Southern radicals, has been well and skillfully used. The confiscation bill, as far as it is intended to act as an act of emancipation, has no business on our statute books.

Selections.

FIVE FUGITIVE SLAVES FROM CHARLESTON.

Correspondence of The N. Y. Times.

PORT ROYAL, S. C., Dec. 10, 1862.

ON Saturday, the 22d ult., five negroes—four men and one woman—stealthily left Charleston in a boat, at half past ten o'clock at night. Impelled forward by the bright hopes of freedom, yet trembling with the fear of detection, they passed the pickets, and glided by the batteries, under cover of the night, and, reaching our blockading fleet, stepped upon the deck of the gunboat Memphis, safe from oppression and bondage. I have conversed with two of these men, who are carpenters, and are now working at their trade here. One of them, Thomas Pritchard by name, is a very shrewd, intelligent fellow, and from him I learned many important facts concerning the state of affairs in Charleston. Although a negro, he is evidently a man of a keen and observing nature, and I am impressed with the reliability of his statements. With regard to the state of feeling in Charleston, he says that the unanimity which has heretofore existed no longer prevails. Constant fears of an attack upon the city by our iron-clad gunboats have engendered a very bitter feeling, and divided the people into two parties, as to the best course to be pursued in case our gunboats should succeed in passing the forts and batteries, and reach the city. The "no-surrender" party are in favor of burning the place, in event of this, while the others are violently opposed to such a sacrifice, preferring to eat humble pie and surrender the city, as was done at New Orleans. The poorer classes are reduced to the most pitiable straits, and the bitter feeling of animosity which prevailed among them at the beginning of the war is completely changed, and they now pray for the coming of the Yankees to bring them food and relieve their distress. There is a greater scarcity of provisions than has existed, and prices were never known to range as high before during the war. Flour is worth $48 a barrel, tea $15 a pound, good meat 75c. a pound. The poor are all kept at the expense of the city.

The people expected that the city would be attacked about the 10th of last month, and a very great many have left. They are still moving away in dread of it, and a committee of Aldermen was convened to render assistance to those who were unable to get away. Large frame buildings have been erected at Greenville to accommodate a portion of them. The greater portion of the negroes were removed to Columbus at the commencement of the war, and with them are Tom's wife and family.

They are still active, and no means of defense is overlooked which can be adopted. There are five thousand troops in and about Charleston, and a new fort (Fort Ripley) has been constructed near the city. A row of spiles has been placed across the channel, extending from behind Fort Sumter to James Island, leaving only just sufficient room for a vessel to pass with difficulty. To these spiles large rafts of timber have been fastened by means of heavy chains.

The two rams are both completed, but have proved useless for offensive operations, the engines not being strong enough to drive them through the water with the requisite velocity. They are anchored in the harbor, and will be used as an additional means of defense. The negro, Tom, assisted in building them, and was able, therefore, to give me the details of their construction. Tom, whose eyes and ears, it appears, were continually about him, one day on the pier overheard a gentleman, who was conversing with Gen. Beauregard about the rams, remark that among other defects, the frame-work was altogether too frail to withstand the violent shock and concussion from the discharge of the guns. This, combined with the immense weight of their armament, would soon shatter the frame, and the vessel would fall to pieces.

Just before leaving Charleston, Tom was employed in the auction house of John J. Milner, to whom almost all the cargoes which reached the city were consigned, and who, it seems, is a man of some considerable influence. There he frequently enjoyed the opportunity of hearing conversations, where opinions and sentiments were freely offered, from which he was enabled to form a very shrewd judgment of the general feeling prevailing. In some of these conversations he heard great satisfaction expressed at the results of the election in New York. They seemed to derive comfort and encouragement from the election of Seymour, as an indication that the people of the North will not support President Lincoln in his Emancipation proclamation.

In the course of conversation I gleaned from Tom a little of his personal history, and his reasons for running away, which were as follows: He belonged to a lady in Charleston, to whom he was given, with some other human chattels, by her sister. A short time before he ran away, he was sent to work at the Camp of Instruction at Grahamville, but was so badly treated there that he soon returned to his mistress. His mistress then told him that she was getting very poor, that she would be obliged to sell him and the rest of her slaves. As he had been a faithful servant, however, she allowed him to choose his master, and sent him to one Whitney, a slave broker, who gave him a ticket entitling him to that privilege. Tom, in search of a master, then hired himself to a Mr. Milner, an auctioneer, in whose store he picked up much valuable information from conversations which he overheard. His employer wished to purchase him, but could not agree with the broker as to price; and it was while thus in dispute that Tom, convinced that he should never again see his wife, settled all difficulties by making off.

The other negro—Israel—who ran away at the same time with Tom, gave me an account of the method of his escape, which was amusing and original.

He was at work at Grahamville, and against his master's express orders, went to Charleston to see his wife. Having committed this rash act, he was afraid to face the wrath of his master, and cast about for a means of concealing himself. He made a trap-door in the floor of his house, under which was a cave or cellar, and slinging beneath the aperture a large tin case, he would stow himself away there when he heard his master coming. There was a carpet on the floor, and the trap being cut through the carpet, was almost imperceptible, and in this hole Israel would lie concealed, and tremble, while his master, standing right over him, uttered terrible threats of death if he caught him. In this way he hid himself for several days, and finally escaped with his wife.

From statements which I have received from negroes, who have made their escape to this place from Charleston, I am led to believe that at the bombardment of Fort Sumter, the rebels met with a very severe loss of life, notwithstanding their assertion that not a single man was killed. I was assured at one time by a negro that he saw the dead bodies brought from the batteries on Sullivan's Island, at night, in omnibuses, and this belief is now confirmed in my mind by what I learned from Israel. He told me that two weeks after that affair he was employed to pump out the floating battery, which was used against the fort—Hamilton's Battery I think it was called—and that during the work three corpses were brought to light, which were evidently mangled by shell. The negro was threatened with hanging if he revealed the fact to a soul, and there is no doubt that the number of deaths resulting from that affair was kept secret from the citizens of Charleston themselves, and when the truth is made known, it will be found to be very different from what their reports have led us to suppose.

These negroes declared to me with enthusiasm that the slaves in and around Charleston are ripe for revolt, and if an army of 5,000 or 6,000 were to enter that city they would immediately rise against their masters. In reference to their fighting qualities, he instanced a case which occurred some two years ago, when two negroes set the whole city in a turmoil. They refused to work in the work-house, and armed only with clubs, they broke away, knocking down all who attempted to oppose them, and finally possessing themselves of a heap of macadamized stones, which were intended to mend a road, they kept a large crowd at bay with these missiles. Two companies of the militia were called out finally to capture them, and many of the soldiers were seriously wounded in the attempt. There were three steamers in the harbor when these men left, one of which had arrived a week before their departure.

KENTUCKY KIDNAPPERS.

IT is not yet many months since slave-hunting was a common practice in the Union armies. There was no evidence of loyalty so unimpeachable as to claim on the one side or to surrender on the other a fugitive black. The business grew gradually less reputable, was frowned on by public opinion at the North, and finally prohibited by act of Congress. Kidnapping, even in its mildest and most Christian variety, ceased to be generally regarded with favor or to be pursued as an essential means of conciliating the Border States. Kentucky herself finds the zeal of her servants and sons in this branch of philanthropic effort rewarded now by no official encouragement. There are two recent and notable cases.

Col. John McHenry, Jr., of the 17th Kentucky (loyal) Volunteers, saw fit to issue an order that all slaves should be removed from his lines within a specified time, and by the terms of the order their "owners, irrespective of loyalty," were politely invited to call and take them. Nothing could be more satisfactory to that eminently disinterested and patriotic loyalty which finds such distinguished representatives on the floor of Congress as Wickliffe, who vehemently complained a few days since that since the war broke out he himself had lost not less than ten of his African chattels. But, unhappily for the owners irrespective of loyalty, the President differed from Col. McHenry, and responsive to the Colonel's order went forth the following from the War Department; that "Col. John McHenry, Jr., of the 17th Kentucky Volunteers, having issued an order, dated October 27, 1862, to his regiment, which order is in violation of the article of war, approved March 13, 1862, is, by direction of the President, hereby discharged from the service of the United States." And so the country has one Colonel the less in its army, and the owners, irrespective of loyalty, are bereaved forever of the much more valuable services of the negroes whom this order finally "discharges" from labor claimed to be due, and remits henceforth to the solitary duty of supporting only themselves.

The second case is that of Gen. Boyle, who also issued an order, as follows:

HEADQUARTERS OF THE DISTRICT OF WESTERN KENTUCKY, LOUISVILLE, KY., Nov. 21, 1862.

All commanding officers serving in this District are ordered not to permit any negroes or slaves to enter their camps, and all officers and privates are forbidden to interfere or intermeddle with the slaves in any way.

This on its face is only a milder version of the unwise "Order No. 3," emitted by Gen. Halleck. It is cautiously worded, with the evident purpose of avoiding an issue under the article of war above referred to. But the government seems to be dealing in this matter with facts; with substance, not shadows. The practical effect of the order was to notify all slave-owners that the lines of the Union armies afforded no protection to fugitives, and to recognize their inalienable right to pursue and arrest their chattels wherever found. It was so considered at Washington, for Gen. Boyle, as a recent dispatch informs us, was promptly warned that his action was disapproved, and, on pain of dismissal, must be forthwith reformed. The hint was not lost on the Kentucky General. He discharged from prison the negroes there held to await their claimants and put them on work to government service.

It is urged in behalf of Gen. Boyle that he did not bring himself within the terms of the article, and that if he had been guilty to any extent, he should and would have been as summarily disposed of as Col. McHenry. We should have been far from objecting if the President had acted with much greater severity, but for once a lenient reproof seems to have been effectual. It is idle to say that the order does not practically employ the Union forces in kidnapping work. Under it, the slaves were held in prison, if no worse. They understood, and their masters understood its meaning. Before it was issued, the fugitive blacks within the Union lines were free. To eject them was to re-enslave them; to deny them the protection of the flag which was the pledge of their redemption. Gen. Boyle was a kidnapper in heart and act. The government granted him days of grace, and he does what he may to deserve its mercy. We shall watch his future proceedings with interest, and not without hope that his repentance may be as sincere as it was unselfish, and as steadfast as it was sudden.—*Tribune.*

MR. SEWARD'S DIPLOMACY.

From The Springfield Republican.

A REPORTED reply of the Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs to Bayard Taylor's assurance, on the authority of Secretary Seward, that the American war was fast drawing to a close and the rebellion about to be suppressed, was a just sarcasm on the American Secretary. The Russian said he had heard similar prophecies so often from the same official source—that had heretofore signally failed—that he must be pardoned in withholding his confidence from this last assurance. Mr. Seward has certainly managed most unfortunately for himself and his country, in his treatment of the war questions to foreign powers, and before the public abroad, as at home, he has lost one of the best reputations among Americans for intelligent and philosophical statesmanship. From the first, he has juggled, or sought to, or most unaccountably, not to say stupidly, misunderstood the rebellion, its character, limits and effects. No intelligent publicist in Europe was deceived by his oracular assertions at the outset that the rebellion had nothing to do with slavery, and, however resulting, would have no effect upon it. However stupidly the blindness of commercial interests or of prejudiced ignorance has thought and acted abroad, no well-read statesman or thoughtful scholar has mistaken the real nature of our contest. Mr. Seward's positive assurances could not deceive them into any doubt, that it was the collision of the progressive and backward civilizations—that it was only a repetition, in a new arena and under new forms, of the old struggles between democracy and aristocracy, between the well-being of the many and the power and elevation of the few. And like all other such contests they could see—and they did see better than we—that it was not likely to be short or feeble or inconsequential in result. They knew the French revolution by heart; they had studied English history, and found it only a succession of such struggles, sometimes political only, but often of arms, also, yet always the same in origin and character, whatever the name or form, and always ending in placing the rights of the people one step nearer the goal of equality; they had lived and shared in the revolutions of 1848, and seen their fruits in a limitation of the power of the few, and an enlargement of the rights of the many all over Europe; and they were fresh from participation in the regeneration of Italy, wherein ignorance and tyranny and superstition had been thrust into disgrace, and the people, and their comfort and their power brought into new relief and activity. Mr. Seward could not deceive them; he only sunk himself and his government, and dried up the fountains of respect and sympathy for us and our cause, by his efforts to belittle the rebellion and pervert its character. He either blundered most strangely in his diplomacy, or erred most woefully in his philosophy. He presumed too much on the stupidity of others, or was most astonishingly stupid himself. He has learned something of wisdom since—no longer does he tell Europe that slavery has nothing to do with the war and will be changed neither in extent or character by its result—but his passion for dwarfing the strength of the rebellion, and predicting its speedy overthrow, continues. The ridicule and contempt this now excites from those to whom it is addressed are but thinly disguised in the reported reply of the Russian Minister. It is not too much to say that Mr. Seward's treatment of the rebellion, in his foreign correspondence, has lost him his reputation abroad—before first among all of our public men; and that it has weakened the respect of governments for us, and sapped the sympathy which belonged to us and sought us from the students and philosophers, the democrats and journalists—the men of the world and not the men of provinces—on the other side of the Atlantic.

Both for ourselves and for our reputation abroad, has our government erred in not making more prominent the real nature of this contest—its coincidence with all the great struggles of civilization to its own perfection—its immediate birth in slavery, and the inutility and inconsequence of resisting the rebellion, except with the hope and purpose of crowning the nation with a new triumph for liberty. Our practical dealing with the institution may not have been different from what we have seen it; the policies of the campaigns may well have governed that; but our theories should have been more clear and distinct, and had they been from the start, we should have found the people with a better understanding of the struggle in which they are engaged, and the struggle itself probably nearer its close. The President and Mr. Seward have themselves chiefly to blame that our cause is so little understood, both at home and abroad, and that the majority of the people of the free States hardly recognize for what the nation is fighting. If the object is only unity, that could be obtained at any moment by yielding to the South, and giving to the Southern politicians and their Northern allies the control of the government as before. That the free States do not see that they are fighting to extinguish slavery—as all the intelligent, history-reading world outside does see—the result of the late elections, following the President's proclamation, strongly indicates; and that they are thus blind to the nature of one of the grandest struggles of history is due, in part at least, to the fact that the government has not specially sought to impress the truth upon them.

Boston Correspondence of the same paper.

What a revelation of himself does Mr. Seward make in his correspondence! Let him not complain of diaries by hostile attachés of the State Department. What is the necessity for printing these private letters of Seward senior and Seward junior to Mr. Adams? They reveal nothing except the bobbling, slipshod style of our statesmanship for the last eighteen months. They consist mainly of blusterings and apologies. Oh, we are going to do brave things! We are going to keep this union whole and indivisible, and England had better look out and not meddle with us! We are terrible fellows! We demand indemnity for gunboat 290! Look out for yourselves! and in the next breath, "Look you here, Mr. Adams, McClellan was not defeated before Richmond; tell Lord Russell that if Lee should ask us to swap places and get back to the swamp again, we should not take him up; so of course we have the best of the bargain—don't you see?" This is almost as bad as for Mr. Motley to send home the military criticisms of the Austrian newspapers for the purpose of convincing us that we are making great progress; that our Generals are great military men, etc. No doubt they are, according to the Austrian standard of greatness. I think, too, that Louis Napoleon must have been impressed with the profundity of Mr. Dayton's argument intended to convince him that we were going to conquer the South. "He said it was a large country, and for that reason difficult to subdue. I told him that we did not need to seize hold of a man's entire body to control him; that if we grasped firmly any sensitive extremities, it was enough; that he had controlled Russia for the time being by taking possession of Sebastopol." An illustration which was wholly in favor of Louis Napoleon's project of mediation. France and Russia stopped fighting, neither having conquered the other. That is just what France wants us to do here, and on the theory of the impossibility of conquering either section. Oh, diplomacy!

NEGRO-CATCHING BAFFLED IN KENTUCKY.

COL. WILLIAM L. UTLEY, of the Wisconsin Twenty-second, is a perfect thorn to rebel sympathizers. On the twenty-second of November, as the Federal army was moving from Louisville to Lexington, Ky., several slaves entered his lines. Their master, a rebel, demanded them. The Colonel replied that he had not come to Kentucky to restore fugitive slaves, and so mean a thing he would not do.

The master repaired to Gen. Quincy A. Gilmore and obtained an order for Col. Utley to surrender the negroes. The Colonel still refused. He declared that he had nothing to do with the coming of these slaves into his lines, and would have nothing to do with sending them out.

Gen. Gilmore immediately ordered him to report at headquarters. He was very much excited as Col. Utley entered.

"Sir," said he, "I issued an order to you yesterday to give up certain contrabands in your regiment."

"And, sir," replied the Colonel, "I refused to obey that order."

"I shall issue that order again to-morrow morning," said the General, "and if you do not obey it, you will suffer the consequences."

"Gen. Gilmore," replied the Colonel, "you must not be at the trouble to issue that order again; I shall not obey it. If you have anything to do with me, you can just as well commence now as to-morrow."

Finding that the Colonel was not to be brow-beaten, the General made an effort to obtain the negroes by an insidious stratagem. He had another interview, and informed Col. Utley that he was going to brigade all the negroes coming into his lines, and wished him to send for that purpose all that he had in his lines.

"When we get more than we want, General," replied Utley, "I will send them."

The next expedient adopted was to frighten the Colonel; and scandal implicates Gov. Robinson in the conspiracy. The rebel sympathizers of Georgetown gave out word that unless their negroes were forthcoming they would mob the Twenty-second as it passed through that place, and take away the slaves. Gen. Gilmore sought to facilitate this project by sending forward all the other regiments, leaving the Twenty-second to march alone.

Gov. Robinson, who lives near that town, had an interview with Col. Utley on the subject. The Colonel gave notice that if it was intended to molest him, the Governor should clear the town of women and children, as he should march through with muskets loaded and bayonets fixed; and in case the attempt should be made to take away the contrabands from his regiment, he would level the town with the ground, and not leave one stone upon another.

He carried out his word. When the rebel mob saw the fixed bayonets, "a sober second thought" led them to offer no slight to the daring Wisconsin men. Finally, an invitation to tea was extended to Col. Utley and his officers, but was declined.

But the pro-slavery, half-disloyal Kentuckians were not yet willing to yield the controversy. Judge Robinson issued a warrant for the arrest of the Colonel, for stealing negroes in violation of the laws of Kentucky, and gave the Sheriff instructions to serve it, even though he should have to get a military force from Gen. Gilmore to help him.

This Gen. Gilmore seems to have a proclivity towards stepping out of his legitimate duties for the purpose of returning slaves. While the Illinois Ninety-second were quartered at Mount Sterling, fifteen negroes, the slaves of notorious rebels, came into their camp and were employed as servants. Application was made to Gen. Gordon Granger, who issued an order to Col. Atkins not to let any person, white or black, come into his lines. But as this was not what the slaveholding traitors wanted, they obtained an order sending the regiment away from Mount Sterling.

At Winchester, on the road to Lexington, the citizens made the threat that they would, with the aid of the Kentucky Fourteenth, chastise the Illinoisans. Col. Atkins marched through the town with fixed bayonets and loaded guns, fully as willing to fight traitors in that way as any other.

At Lexington the rabble broke into the ranks of the Ninety-second, and attempted to take away a negro belonging to one of the vilest of the Kentucky secessionists. Col. Atkins rode to the spot, and warned the miscreants away.

"If you dare to interfere with my march," said he, "I will fire a volley among you, so help me God."

This was sufficient; they retreated, and the regiment continued its march to Nicholasville.

But the slave-hunters were not contented to let the matter go in this manner. An order of delivery from the Fayette Circuit Court was served on Col. Atkins for the delivery of two slaves, belonging to Emily G. Hand, with a letter from Gen. Gilmore.

The General wrote that the military powers had no right to resist the execution of civil process, and that the attempt to do so would render them amenable to the severe law of Kentucky. Col. Atkins replied:

"GENERAL: I have your note. I [illegible] state that I am under orders to proceed soo[illegible]th my command, and I do not know at what moment I may find the enemy, and I cannot afford to piddle away my time in hunting up niggers or in replying to bills in chancery filed against me. When the war is over, and I am at leisure, I will answer any civil process, but I beg to assure you, General, that I am now altogether too busy with a terrible rebellion and bloody war to be fooling away my time in writing answers to bills in chancery filed by secession sympathizers. I have not resisted, and do not expect to, for I have not a single nigger in my possession at all, but I cannot stop answer formally to court."

Not being able to make any advantage out of the Colonel of the Ninety-second, the secession sympathizers have since resorted to calumny, alleging that that regiment was committing depredations on private property and ruining the loyal sentiment of Kentucky.

A WORD FOR THE SLAVES.

Correspondence of The Christian Inquirer.

FORT CONFISCATION, NEAR NASHVILLE, TENN.,
November 25th, 1862.

A SINGLE remark in Dr. Bellows's address before the Autumnal Unitarian Convention has made me desire to say a few words in vindication of the enslaved African race. I cannot precisely quote his words, having given away the last of the papers containing the address; but the idea to which I refer, was, that we have been disappointed in not finding the enslaved African race so ready to welcome us as deliverers, and so eager to flock to the standard of our advancing army, as we expected they would be.

A few such facts as have come under my observation in our Southern campaigning, give the African race quite as much occasion for disappointment concerning us as we have concerning them, and more than justify any distrust and indifference they have manifested regarding the war. We have positively and persistently refused to accept their proffered assistance, or to encourage their hope of freedom as a result of the success of our arms. Order followed order from our Generals of the Department of the Ohio, forbidding negroes to come within our lines. Again and again were orders issued in Tennessee and Alabama, that all slaves in camp should be taken to headquarters, that slaveholders who came there might claim and take them away. At Fayetteville, Tenn., orders came from Gen. O. M. Mitchel, then in command there, that all slaves should be expelled from the camp, and that any officer who had a slave in his employ, and who did not send him beyond the lines immediately, should be arrested and sent to headquarters for punishment. Thank God, the General by his noble conduct subsequently in South Carolina, seems to have been converted from the error of his way before his death.

Regardless of all these orders, hundreds would come and did remain in camp. In spite of every indignity heaped upon them, and every expression of scorn and hatred uttered against them by a large proportion of officers and men of our Northern army, they still pressed upon us, eagerly entreating permission to go with us, and render any service in their power that they might escape from bondage. In our retreat from Huntsville, and in passing through Athens, Alabama, I saw hundreds of men, women and children, who, after those who were able to work on the fortifications, and had been so employed, were no longer needed, were turned off in utter destitution, to wander homeless, and find subsistence as they could. The cars were loaded with cotton, and there was no transportation for these miserable and despised negroes, and so they were left to the tender mercies of their enraged owners, with no friend or helper but Him without whom not a sparrow falls to the ground. With such treatment at our hands as this, instead of expressing disappointment that they have not risen *en masse* to welcome us as friends of freedom, and aid us as deliverers from bondage, we have more just occasion of astonishment that they have so confidingly come to us, and patiently followed us, and earnestly entreated permission to do whatever they could for us as the price of freedom.

During nearly a year and a half of service as army chaplain, in Missouri, Kentucky, Tennessee and Alabama, I have seen among the negroes abundant love and desire of freedom, and of willingness to do anything possible, and in any measure hopeful to obtain it. I have seen everywhere the exhibition of sympathy with, and fidelity to the Union army—a kind of instinctive feeling that, in spite of all the rebuffs they received, we were in some way working for freedom; and they would do all they could to warn us of danger, inform us of any sources of supply, and aid us to their utmost ability, and often at the risk of their lives. I cannot help regarding any expression of disappointment that they have not given us a more cordial welcome, and manifested more interest in freedom, and done more to win it, as quite unreasonable and unjust, and am very certain, if Dr. Bellows had witnessed the same things which have come under my observation for a year past, he would think and feel the same.

A. H. CONANT, Chaplain 19th Ill. Vols.

LOOKING AFTER BLACK SOLDIERS.

Correspondence of The N. Y. Tribune.

FERNANDINA, Fla., Dec. 3, 1862.

SATURDAY eve, the 29th, the steamer Ben de Ford left Beaufort, for this place, with Gen. Saxton and staff, for the purpose of gathering up recruits for the 1st S. C. Regiment, under command of Col. Higginson.

Two young ladies from Syracuse, New York, Miss Smith and Miss Merrick, and your correspondent, availed ourselves of the opportunity, and came down to establish schools among the contrabands, there being but one white teacher on this Island (and he preferring a ministerial office to that of pedagogue) to 1,200 people.

We arrived at 7 a.m. Sunday. At the meeting held in the forenoon, an announcement was made that at 3 p.m. Gen. Saxton and the Rev. Mr. Kennedy of Chambersburg, Pa., would address the colored people. At the appointed hour the large Baptist church was full to overflowing, and but for the dusky faces which thronged the doorway, one might have thought himself near Plymouth church, Brooklyn.

It was strange to see how this war has changed the face of things. Colored people filled the centre pews, and crowded round the pulpit. Soldiers thronged the galleries, and officers and soldiers and black women and white sat indiscriminately about. The negroes sang. Mr. Kennedy made a prayer, and Gen. Saxton made one of his plain, vigorous, off-hand speeches, detailing in the simplest manner the intentions of government toward the colored soldiers, and urging them to enlist. The difference between the race of Floridians and the Islanders of South Carolina is very great, and all in favor of the Floridians—they are more truthful, earnest, sensible and intelligent, than those left behind by the runaway rebels on Hilton Head and Port Royal. As the General proceeded, there was an increase of feeling and enthusiasm, which was heartily joined in by the soldiers of the 9th Maine, who have been stationed here under the command of Col. Rich, for some months. One or two others made short addresses.

Then a negro, very black, rose and, after a few remarks, declared himself ready to go with the General; said he was a shoemaker; had run away from his old master, brought away some leather, and had been making up shoes for soldiers. He was trusting them till they could get their pay, and he wasn't afraid to trust government. His clothes were nearly worn out, but he was going, "if he hadn't a leg left to his breeches." This brought down the immense house with cheers. Another immediately arose; said he had nothing now; but he had more than he had ever had before—which caused a shout. He proceeded to tell us, with inimitable drollery, how he got away from old Massa; how frightened he was when he rowed across the river from the main, expecting the Union soldiers would kill him, and when they beckoned him to come ashore he thought they must want to kill him, and eat him too. He came ashore with his boat-load. Here he described his fear and terror; how his knees sank under him, by sitting down on the pulpit steps and lowering his head almost to his knees. The first question he found courage to ask—without daring to look up—was, "'Oh! Massa, is I free?' and when they answered 'Yes,' I grew strong—strong as a man" (and he sprang from his crouching posture and stood like a man). "We'll stand by that old flag, boys," said he; "'twas that old flag that made us and kept us slaves; nevermind that. It was like an unconverted sinner then; 'twas in a state of nature, now in a state of grace. It's Christian. It's turned to the Lord, and we'll stick to it. Yes, brothers, we'll stand by that flag; we'll go up to Beaufort with Gov. Saxton, and we'll fight for that old Stars and Stripes till every Yankee up North, and every nigger down South is dead, before we'll give up; and then the secesh may have the war to themselves." A storm of applause followed this witty and sensible speech, and the soldiers could not be brought into quiet till they had given two rounds of approbation.

It is not possible to do justice to these two men who spoke in behalf of their race, in the presence of this great audience, and we have only sketched one or two of their most salient points.

Every intelligent negro is for freedom. We heard one of their best men talking with the officers a day or two since: "Arm a hundred of us, and give us arms to place in the hands of those that come to us, and let us go out in our own way—and we will gather a force in three weeks that will surround Charleston on the land, and put the people all in a terror, while you come up with your gunboats on the sea, and we'll take it sure." So they pleaded to carry help to their suffering friends, and by so doing to aid our government in the most substantial manner. Many of these men have escaped by themselves, leaving all behind them. What is more, there is in their veins the blood of the old Florida Indians, and one needs but to see the fire of their eyes to feel that they would make good their pledges.

Nearly 200 were ready on Monday to go on the Ben de Ford, and waited only for their pay for their last four months work on the fort, that they might leave such friends as were here in comfort. But those who held the money did not pay, and others told them monstrous stories! others, that government would not do as it said; and among the parties inimical to Gov. Saxton and to the policy of the heads of Department, many were frightened from their purpose, and only 120 returned with the General. The balance were ready to go to-day after they had received their money. The friends North may rest assured that white men, who do not care to have the war ended, or who have some selfish purpose to accomplish, as had the builders of these forts, are the stumbling blocks that turn the negroes away from the proffered patronage of government.

The strong and able-bodied black men are too great a convenience to white officers and soldiers. It is too pleasant to be waited on, and worked for, and the assertion, so often heard, that "The negroes won't fight for freedom," means "We want them to work for us." Gen. Saxton is working nobly against this insidious tide of opposition, and he will conquer.

Permit me to say that the officers and soldiers of the 9th Maine, with a few exceptions, are very friendly to the missionary cause, and have rendered the ladies every possible assistance in their work of mercy.

The Rev. Mr. Kennedy and the Rev. Mr. Shields, who are doing good work, are highly delighted with the earnestness and proficiency of the people under their charge at this place. An old man, who was 16 years old at the time of the Revolution, and remembers helping to carry Gen. George Washington up from the ship at Savannah, "on two white sheets" to the hotel, and was afterward a slave of Gen. Greene, and now claims to be a hundred years old or more, with wool as white as snow, lives in the house with us, and is learning to read—sees common letters without glasses, and tells his stories of the Revolution, and of his old master and young master, Mr. Nightingale (now with the rebels), with astonishing minuteness of detail. He is a wonderful old man.

P. D. G.

ADDRESS OF THE LONDON EMANCIPATION SOCIETY.

FELLOW-COUNTRYMEN: The abolition of negro slavery—always an object of earnest desire to the philanthropist—has become now an urgent political necessity. Thirty years ago England found it impossible any longer to tolerate the existence in her colonies of 800,000 bondmen. Since that time France, Holland and Portugal have decreed the abolition of slavery in their colonial possessions. Slavery in the United States of America has at length produced a crisis as much more terrible than that which threatened us, as the extent of the system is greater and the strength of the slave-owner more formidable. If, in our own country, slavery had occupied half the soil, had counted as votaries or as victims a third of the population, had for many years controlled the government, and had diffused the poison of its influence through all our religious and social institutions, we should not have got rid of it by so easy a process as the payment of £20,000,000 sterling. It would probably have provoked a civil war, and have threatened to destroy the commonwealth it could no longer rule. Thus has slavery in America armed in its defence the States that proclaimed themselves an independent Confederacy, and demand European recognition in that capacity.

The government of the United States has tardily but decisively advanced from the principle of free soil territory to that of free labor throughout the Union. It has proposed and earnestly recommended voluntary emancipation, offering partial or entire indemnity from the Federal exchequer. To the States and slave-owners in arms against its authority it announces the cessation of their legal title to property in human beings; and appoints the first day of the next year as the epoch of emancipation through all the States then in rebellion.

The Southern slaveholders respond by the denunciation of this measure as a violation of the laws of war, and threaten acts of retaliation that imply a rooted resolve to hold the negro race in the deepest degradation as well as the hardest bondage.

To such a struggle England cannot be indifferent. Neutrality must be to the end, as it has been from the beginning, the rule of our governmental policy. But our people cannot regard with unconcern a conflict the origin and issues of which are so closely allied to the question of personal slavery or freedom to four million of human beings.

To make more plain this connection, to make it everywhere perceived and confessed, by the force of indisputable testimony, that the South is fighting for slavery, whilst the North is fully committed to the destruction of slavery—is the principal object for which this Society is organized. Its promoters do not believe that English anti-slavery sentiment is dead or even enfeebled. They are confident that when the demands and designs of the South are made clear there will be no danger of your being enticed into complicity therewith. They trust that an unequivocal expression of English feeling in favor of the Republican North—of its free soil platform and its free labor proclamation—will powerfully encourage the friends of negro freedom in America, and so hasten the satisfactory termination of the war that now devastates the New World and afflicts the old. By order of the Committee.

WILLIAM EVANS, Chairman.
F. W. CHESSON, Hon. Sec.
Offices 65 Fleet Street, London, E. C.

A "WHIPPING-HOUSE."

A CORRESPONDENT of the Missouri *Democrat*, writing from Helena, Ark., under date of September 9, describes, as follows, one of the beauties of the "peculiar institution":

"Perhaps your readers are not aware that whipping negroes is a regular business in some parts of the South, but such is undoubtedly the case. Improved machinery has been invented and put into operation, and whipping is done by wholesale. An institution of this kind is located at Mayena, twenty-five miles from this place, on the St. Francis road. The 'whipping-house,' as it is called, is about six feet in diameter, and ten feet high. A shaft runs from bottom to top; on the upper end is a small cog-wheel running horizontally, into which a large wheel works. The propelling power is a robust negro. Attached to the shaft are leather thongs or straps about two inches wide. Lashes are inserted in these, and when the shaft is in motion they reach the neck. Near by is the office and stripping-house. Here the victims are divested of their clothing, and five or six are placed in the torture-room, the door being fastened, the negro on hold of the crank; the proprietor, with watch in hand, orders the machine to be put in motion. Around whirls the shaft at the rate of two hundred revolutions per minute, with straps and lashes extended, bruising and lacerating the poor victim with thousands of blows extending from head to feet. Fifteen minutes is considered by the proprietor—Hampton Jones—to be a reasonable time to grind a batch of human flesh; and then it is so very cheap, costing but a dollar per head. I do think it very nearly equals hell itself. Nothing for human torture could be more terrible. A thousand scorpions stinging their flesh could not inflict more punishment. At the time, the poor, bleeding, quivering

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victims are brought out more dead than alive. The plantations for miles send their grist to this mill to be ground, and the proprietor had been doing a thriving business until the Union troops came, and consequently Othello's occupation was gone."

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, DECEMBER 27, 1862.

Correspondents will greatly oblige us by a careful observance of the following directions, viz.:

Letters enclosing matter for publication, or relating in any way to the editorial conduct of the paper, should be addressed, "Editor of the Anti-Slavery Standard, No. 48 Beekman Street, New York."

Letters enclosing subscriptions, or relating in any way to the business of the office, should be addressed, "Publisher of the Anti-Slavery Standard, No. 48 Beekman street, New York."

TO THE SUBSCRIBERS AND FRIENDS OF THE STANDARD.

ADVANCE IN PRICE.

In consequence of the unprecedented advance in the price of white paper, whereby the cost of publishing The Standard for the present number of readers has been increased by more than one thousand dollars per annum, the Executive Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society, at a meeting held expressly to consider the subject, have unanimously decided to raise the subscription price, on and after the first of January, 1863, to $2.50. Of course, the Committee have come to this conclusion most reluctantly; but they see no other way to meet the added expense of publication, and they are sure that every friend of the paper and the cause will assent to the justice and propriety of the step.

We hope that not a single subscriber will leave us on this account, but that all will make special efforts to send us the names of new subscribers at the beginning of the new year. If we may judge from the tone of the letters we have received of late, The Standard was never held in higher esteem by its readers than it is at the present time. If slavery were really abolished, we might well disband our Societies and stop our papers; but it is not abolished, nor are we sure that it will be for years to come. Abolitionists, therefore, must not lay down the weapons of their warfare, but keep them bright by active use, and hold themselves in readiness for such further service as may be necessary for the complete extinction of the hellish system against which they have so long contended.

Of course the change of price will not affect those whose subscriptions are already paid to a time beyond the first of January.

FREDERICKSBURG AND WASHINGTON.

A terrible disaster to our arms! A bloody battle and nothing to be proud of excepting the unflinching courage with which it was fought! These things are hard to bear, and we do not wonder that men in high places are busy in shifting the responsibility from their own shoulders to those of somebody else. That "some one has blundered" there can be no doubt, but whether it were the President in ordering a forward movement, or Gen. Halleck in withholding the President's permission to Gen. Burnside to use his own discretion in the matter, or Gen. Burnside in not handling his force as well as it might have been done, or Gen. McClellan in delaying the march of the army until the country had become impracticable by reason of Winter, we do not presume to pronounce. The scape-goat of this defeat has not yet been selected. When the choice is made, we trust that the victim may be one that will effectually carry our sins and our blunders into the wilderness so that they may never again return to plague us.* The advance was unavoidable. The country would not have endured another Winter of idleness on the hither side of the Potomac. It had sent forth its legions and poured out its treasure for no such purpose. We do not think any one can be blamed for the main policy of activity. But who is to be called in question because that policy of action has proved a failure, rests as yet in the dark. The repulse was a most mortifying and damaging one, and one that will be used by our enemies in England and France as a new proof of the impotence of our arms. Whether it will lead to recognition or intervention or not, will mainly depend on the attitude in which the country shall be placed by the President, now that it has taken place. That it complicates the situation is undeniable, and that it calls for the greatest skill and the truest wisdom in disentangling its perplexities is equally beyond question. The country wants to know how and by whom it is to be done.

We hear of effervescences in the Cabinet at Washington in consequence of this event and of possible changes in its composition to flow from it. Possibly, these rumors may have settled down into history before these lines reach our readers' eye—for these are times in which a single day may bring forth strange things. Our readers know our views of the demands of these times upon the President. One thing is certain, that the repulse at Fredericksburg makes the policy of Emancipation all the more prominent and exigent. Had we scattered the main army of the rebels there, and been now in full march upon Richmond, there might have been an appeal made to the President for a modification, or at least a delay, of his proclamation policy, with some show of plausibility. It might be said that there was good reason to hope that the rebellion had received a blow that it could not survive, and that the rebels should be allowed a reasonable time to submit themselves and save their institutions, before the fatal blow was dealt to what they prize the most in life. With the views which the President is known conscientiously to hold as to his duty of saving slavery if it can be done without destroying the country, it cannot be denied that such representations might not unreasonably have great weight with him. That immense pressure is now brought to bear upon him to force him to swerve from the line he has marked out, to look back from the plough to which he had put his hand to drive it over the prostrate citadel of slavery, is matter of notoriety. Perhaps it would have been irresistible if it had had the weight of victory superadded to it. What the country has to pray for is that he may have strength equal to his day, and advisers competent to strengthen his strength and not to weaken it. The policy of Emancipation demands a man at his right hand who fully and steadfastly believes in it, and who will have wisdom to direct the measures to be taken under it in the discreetest and most energetic manner.

That we do not believe Mr. Seward to be the man whom the exigency calls for we set forth last week. We have not changed our opinion since, though we then wrote in the hope of the opening of a career of victory. We still think that he might be much better replaced by almost any one of the prominent Republicans of the country, who regard slavery as the fountain and original of all our calamities. But we do not see how he, or even Mr. Blair, can help seeing that, if the country is to be saved entire, it can only be by means of the black allies who are only waiting our invitation to place themselves by our side. The death-blow must be dealt to the rebellion within the next six months or it will assume proportions of very different relative importance from anything it has yet taken upon itself. To hope for any preponderating successes in the field within that time, would be to yield to a morbid exaggeration of a sanguine temperament. We have tried the old style of tactics for more than eighteen months, and they have failed against the rapid evolutions and demonstrations of our astute and agile enemy. The enemy is stronger than he ever was in every particular, with all the skill and all the enthusiasm which a long course of success naturally generates. If we cannot oppose to him some new and effectual strategy we may as well consent to let him go his way, before he has devoured up any more of our sons and brothers. The necessity of the issuing and the enforcing of the proclamation of the First of January, the complement of that of the Twenty-second of September, is now more obvious than it has ever been. It is the only way of escape for us; the only hope of victory and union on a basis which not all the powers of earth can shake. Let that proclamation be issued and Generals employed to carry it into effect whose hearts are in the work given them to do, and the rebellion is virtually at an end. The way to Richmond lies through the most populous slave districts of the Gulf States. Let a brigade of black troops be thrown into the thickest of the slave country, and we know by what we have already seen that the slave population would flock to us. Insurrection, with the horrors connected with it, would be prevented, not promoted, by such a movement, and the army of the rebels would be drawn from the frontier towards the North to the sea-board or the heart of their own country. Then Richmond would fall an easy prey, and terms might be granted to the rebels, of necessity after the proclamation involving Emancipation, which would put an end to the war and be the beginning of a glorious Union to endure forever, able to defend itself and to punish its enemies.

We can hardly see how any men intrusted with the direction of our affairs can miss of going right in the light of the fires of Fredericksburg. One thing that defeat has made sure, and that is, that Fernando Wood and John Van Buren have no chance for such a peace and such a Union as they sigh for. Jefferson Davis is in no condition of affairs and in no state of mind, now, to strike hands with them and their like, and give up the independence with which his pride and his passions are identified, to come back to a Democratic scramble for office under the old Constitution. No such luck awaits them. The rebels are strengthened in their pride and resolution. There can be no Union, now, excepting one resting on conquest, and no conquest that does not grow out of Emancipation. We believe that this policy would have been more swiftly and more gloriously successful, a year ago than now. For then there was no open division. Domestic treason dared not raise its head. The President was absolute master of the situation, and there would have been scarcely a murmur raised against it. The proclamation of Fremont was welcomed by an almost unanimous acclamation, and the pack that ran him down never opened mouth until the action of the President had set them on. But it is not too late now. At any rate, it is our only chance for victory and union. If it fail of success, the efforts of the nation to save itself from destruction have failed, and the sooner we begin to accommodate ourselves to our condition the better. All we ask of the President is to give us this last chance, and to give it the fair play of Ministers at Washington and of Generals in the field who believe in it and will do what men can to make it a glorious and an enduring success.

THE PRESIDENT AND THE CRISIS.

In the course of the next week, a matter of immense importance to our country, and which now hangs wavering in fate's balance, is to be decided. One week hence it will be known whether the President will fulfil his promise and his duty by vigorously putting in practice the course marked out in the proclamation of September 22d; or whether, on the other hand, he will neutralize or destroy the benefit naturally to be expected from that instrument, by modifying or postponing its action. The country, and we may say without exaggeration the world, waits in expectancy the immense results which hang upon the will of one man. Events have put into the hand of Abraham Lincoln a power such as few absolute monarchs possess. It rests with him to decide whether the generation now come to maturity shall see this country free, united and prosperous, or given up to an indefinite continuance of strife and carnage. The establishment or the overthrow of freedom in the United States depends mainly upon him.

"He can create, and he destroy."

Mr. Lincoln has frequently, and freely, expressed his strong sense of the responsibility belonging to his office in this critical period. But these convictions of weighty responsibility have been uttered, for the most part, in excuse for inaction; in reply to remonstrances against delaying the inauguration of freedom; in reply to urgent entreaties that he would speak that one powerful word which would immediately take four million of allies from the rebel army, and give four million of volunteers to the service of the loyal army and the country. With a keen sense of the responsibility of vigor and energy, he seems not at all to comprehend the equal responsibility of inaction, when every day is increasing our dangers and diminishing our resources. What sort of pilot is he who feels the weight of his office so intensely that he cannot steer clear of the rocks? What sort of physician is he who watches for months the rapid decline of his patient without venturing to "take the responsibility" of doing anything?

To shrink from taking the post of pilot, physician, or President, because one feels inadequate to the performance of its duties, shows conscientiousness and prudence. To accept the post, and shrink from its most obvious duties, shows—something very different.

Mr. Lincoln's inaction, moreover, has been only in one direction. During the latter part of his administration, he has taken at intervals (seemingly urged by some necessity) a few half measures looking in the direction of freedom. But through his whole period of power, he has zealously and heartily pushed the opposite alternative, trying numerous and various methods to obtain peace by concession of continued tolerance for slavery. Whatever could be done in that direction he has tried, appealing with earnestness alternately to rebels, to loyalists, and to that intermediate race who inhabit the Border States. All has been tried in vain. No progress whatever has been made in that direction.

Is it not time, after such fair trial and utter failure of the worse course, to try the better? Is it anything more than just and reasonable that those who have always pointed towards *freedom* as the policy at once right, expedient and indispensable, should now demand for that policy its turn of being fully and fairly tried?

Most fortunately, a day is now approaching, a day foreordained by the President himself, when (unless he consents to stand before the world as a promise-breaker) he must take a stand in favor of freedom, by executing the proclamation of September 22d.

Will he violate this pledge?

Will he fulfil it with zeal, heartiness and energy, using such collateral measures as to give it the best chance for effective operation on the enemy, and commencing the further movements necessary to make this country truly "the land of the free"? That is to say, having hitherto given concession a fair trial, will he now give freedom a fair trial?

A third conjecture remains.

Will he take the worst course of the three, doing the Lord's work negligently; daubing the wall with untempered mortar; keeping the word of promise to the ear, and breaking it to the hope? Will he do just enough of this indispensable duty to escape the reproach of having done nothing; and so contrive the execution of the work (as he did the proclamation of it) as to avoid producing that electric and wide-spreading practical effect which naturally belongs to such a movement?

The most important result of the promised gift of freedom will be its effect upon the slaves; and this depends very much upon the terms of the act, simple or complicated, and upon the manner of its promulgation. These unfortunate men, so long and so grossly wronged by the United States, and up to this time so doubtful of what fate is in reserve for them, are to be inspired with confidence. A few hearty words of friendly greeting, addressed to them by the President, giving them assurance of the cessation of the tenure under which they have been held as slaves, declaring the purpose of the nation to secure for them immediate and perpetual freedom, and suggesting how they should avail themselves of it, would call the powers of every one of them into immediate action for the President and against the rebellion. A message springing from the heart easily reaches the heart of those to whom it is sent; and if the directness and thoroughness of the one in question shall show it to have sprung from the pen and the heart of "*Honest* Abe," words cannot describe the immensity of the beneficent result that would immediately flow from it.

Whenever immediate emancipation is spoken of, its enemies proclaim in advance the approach of insurrection and servile war. The anticipation is absurd, since slavery is the natural promoter of such outbreaks, and emancipation the natural and sufficient security against them. But the deliverer of slaves can be, for the time, their willingly accepted protector. A word from the President in regard to the manner in which they should assume their liberty would have the force of law to them.

The effect of such a proclamation upon the rebels would be as extensive and intense as upon the slaves. We do not mean upon their feelings, but upon their action. Their spite and bitterness are already superlative, and admit of no enlargement or exacerbation. But they would be obliged immediately to act, and to act in a manner incompatible with the defense of Richmond. Whenever President Lincoln shall really call the slaves to take sides with him, that moment each slaveholder in the rebel armies will find that he has more important business to do than fighting for Jeff. Davis. Vast numbers of Southern officers and soldiers, including those of most wealth and influence, would be immediately detached from their respective positions in the Southern armies, and fixed as home guards on their respective estates; while at the same moment our armies in the South everywhere would be doubled by the influx of black volunteers.

A third influence of energetic action in this direction, by the President, would be as great and as salutary as the two former—namely, the union in sentiment of a now divided North. While the government hesitates, the pro-slavery feelings and habits of a certain proportion of the Northern people will impel them to constant activity of demonstration, in the hope of still saving "the Union as it was under the Slave Power." Whenever the government decides upon and takes a contrary course, all this clamor will be hushed. The "accomplished fact" will be recognized and respected now, as much as in the case of Mason and Slidell. What energy of determination was everywhere expressed by the press and the people that the rebel envoys could not, would not, and should not be given up! The President announced his contrary decision, and in twenty-four hours all was calm as a Summer's morning; and moreover all agreed that the President had done right.

But what if, on the 1st of January, President Lincoln shall evade or postpone the declaration of freedom? He is said already to have declared, in his interview with the Border State Committee, "that, as to his Emancipation proclamation, he had acted from the belief that it would effect good results; but, if he could be convinced to the contrary, he would modify his position on that subject."

Did Mr. Lincoln anticipate that a certain proportion of the rebel States would submit, for fear of losing their slaves, and that thus slavery would be saved? Was this the "good result" that he expected? And does his contemplated modification of position mean retreat instead of advance?

If Lincoln shrinks from his proclamation of freedom to the slaves of rebels, all the more energetically must we stick to our proclamation that *every* slave shall be freed, and that every vestige of the infamous system shall be eradicated from this land, before it settles down to the pursuits of peaceful life. Never shall there be peace here while slavery remains. The slaveholders began the contest. Be it our part to see that contest prolonged until *righteousness* and peace shall kiss each other.

What strong and active measures should be taken for this end, whether movement in the direction suggested by Conway of Kansas (whose resolutions, offered on the 15th inst., in the House of Representatives, may be found in another column), or in some other equally vigorous manner, can better be judged after the first of January. Meantime, we have one chance left. May God dispose the President to give this perishing country a happy new year.

CHEERING LETTER FROM ENGLAND.

Emancipation Society,
Offices, 65 Fleet Street, London, E. C.,
December 5, 1861.

My Dear Sir: The enclosed printed documents will apprise you of the formation of the Emancipation Society, the object of which is to devise means to counteract the alleged sympathy of this country with the Southern States, and especially to encourage the Federal government in the prosecution of an anti-slavery policy. We have been engaged for the last two or three weeks in organizing the Association, and you will perceive from the enclosed list of the General Committee that it includes some of the most eminent and influential names in the Kingdom. Our special work will be to enlighten the English public on the facts of the American question through the medium of the platform. A great delusion exists in the United States with reference to the real state of public opinion in this country. You have regarded the unfriendly sentiments of certain statesmen and party organs as a genuine expression of the mind of England. Nothing could be more fallacious. The men and newspapers I allude to are, as a rule, opposed to their countrymen upon every popular home question; and it is, therefore, very hard that the nation should be held responsible for their sadly erroneous views of the American war. I think some of your newspapers are to blame for presenting to the American people only one side of English opinion. You have been made much more familiar with the articles published in *The Times* and *The Herald* than you have been with those of *The Star* and *The Daily News*. All the chief organs of the great provincial districts have been sound to the core from the beginning. But yet how rarely have they been quoted from by your daily papers? The fact is that the Union feeling of this country is based upon a strong anti-slavery sentiment; and probably that does not, even now, quite suit the atmosphere of certain of your newspaper offices in New York and Boston.

Public opinion can only be fairly tested in popular assemblies. Whenever that test has been applied in this country we have had to rejoice in the result. The suffering operatives of Lancashire—the men and women who have been literally famishing from the stoppage of the cotton supply—are almost unanimously for the North and the abolition of slavery. Again and again have they voted down resolutions of sympathy with the South, and resolutions which presented the idea of intervention in the artful guise of a raising of the blockade to procure cotton. Then, take another example. Mr. Buxton goes down to Maidstone, and at a select dinner party of landowners and farmers delivers a pro-Southern speech. Loud were the plaudits with which his speech was greeted, and great was the satisfaction expressed in certain quarters that so honored a name should be coupled with sentiments so strongly at variance with those which had previously emanated from the same source. But while the speech was still ringing in the public ear, Mr. George Thompson went to Maidstone, not to address a gathering in the dining room of a hotel, but to elicit the opinions of the great body of Mr. Buxton's constituents. What was the result? Why, that after Mr. Thompson's eloquent statement of the case, a resolution of sympathy with President Lincoln's anti-slavery proclamation was almost unanimously passed. Mr. Thompson alone has addressed scores of audiences on this question during the last five months—he has, in fact, thrown his whole heart into the work; and the result has always been the same. The people are sound; and all that is required is to give them an opportunity of expressing their real opinions. Such an opportunity the Emancipation Society will, I trust, be able to afford them.

A Confederate States Aid Association has been formed in London; and a public meeting in connection therewith was held at Mr. Mason's rooms on Wednesday evening last. About fifty persons attended, including several Southerners, a few friends of the North, and that clever colored man, William Andrew Jackson, Jefferson Davis's ex-coachman. A Dr. Lempriere was the orator of the evening, but the whole affair went off very flat. It was intended to hold their meetings weekly, but I am told that the experiment of one has been *quantum sufficit*, and no more will be held. Jackson was introduced to the author of the Fugitive Slave law, but Mr. Mason did not appear to relish either his new acquaintance or the placards containing an illustration of a negro under torture which were exhibited in front of his door during the entire evening.

Very truly yours, F. W. Chesson.

Oliver Johnson, Esq., Editor of The National Anti-Slavery Standard.

The printed documents enclosed in the above letter are three: the first, an Address of the Emancipation Society to the People of Great Britain; secondly, a circular privately sent to gentlemen whose aid as members of the General Committee of the Society it was thought desirable to secure; and thirdly, a list of one hundred and nineteen gentlemen who have consented to serve on the said Committee. The first of these documents will be found on the first page of this sheet; to the second we give place here:

EMANCIPATION SOCIETY.

Sir: This Society has been formed for the purpose of giving practical expression to the convictions of the British people on the question of negro slavery and to protest against the degrading assumption that the countrymen of Granville Sharpe, Clarkson and Wilberforce can sanction the proceedings of any community that contravenes the fundamental principles of religion and morals, by blasphemously declaring that Man can be the *property* of his fellow Man.

It offers no opinion upon the purely political aspects of the American civil war. That terrible contest has palpably had its origin in the existence of the unchristian and inhuman institution of slavery in the Southern States, and in the culpable toleration of the iniquity so long shown by a large portion of the people of the North. The question of union or separation chiefly concerns the Americans themselves: but the whole civilized world is interested in the purification of their community from the shame and guilt which slavery entails. The Emancipation Society therefore calls for an earnest expression of public sympathy with every movement tending to the liberation of the slave, and for the strongest reprobation of every pretence to prolong his bondage.

In such measures as the recognition of Liberia and Hayti; the concession to England of a Right of Search; the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia and the Territories; the offer of compensation to the slave States; and the Emancipation proclamation of President Lincoln, the United States government has displayed a wise and humane feeling.

No effort should be spared in England to do justice to the noble endeavors of the most enlightened American citizens, and to give them moral aid in their arduous efforts to arouse their countrymen to the duty of treating the African with the same political justice which they demand for themselves.

The Emancipation Society will act in conjunction with other anti-slavery Associations in England and the United States, and it appeals to every friend of Liberty and Human Rights for subscriptions or personal aid.

We hope to have your permission to place your name on the General Committee, and beg the favor of an early reply. We are, sir,

Yours very respectfully,
William Evans, Chairman,
38 Gordon Square, W. C.
F. W. Chesson, Hon. Secretary,
31 Newington Crescent, S. E.

In the list of members of the Committee we find the following eminent names, more or less familiar to the people of this country:

Lieut.-Gen. Perronet Thompson,
Prof. J. E. Cairnes, Dublin,
Prof. Francis William Newman,
Richard D. Webb, Dublin,
Victor Schoelcher, Esq., Chelsea,
George Thompson, Esq.,
Rev. Newman Hall,
Rev. J. W. Massie, D.D., LL.D.,
Harper Twelvetrees, Esq.,
Washington Wilks, Esq.,
Rev. S. A. Steinthal.

We congratulate the friends of the anti-slavery cause in America upon the formation of this new Society, believing that it will do much to enlighten the people of Great Britain in respect to the issues involved in the struggle with slavery, treason and rebellion, and become the nucleus of a public opinion in favor of the North too potent to be overcome by the agents of the Slave Power.

LETTER FROM AARON M. POWELL.

Utica, N. Y., Dec. 15, 1862.

To the Editor of The National Anti-Slavery Standard.

During the months of October and November I attended a series of meetings, held at various points in Eastern New York, in Columbia and Washington Counties mainly; and now am engaged in a lecturing tour in Central New York. It is nearly two years since my last visit in this region. Then we encountered, at all the important points we visited, the mobs for which that Winter is memorable. The "rebellion" had not then *formally* broken out. Those mobs, evidently arranged for, and conducted by concert of action between parties of similar character in the different cities, were, as we have since been pretty well assured, the work of the Knights of the Golden Circle. The relation of these "Knights" to the rebel slaveholders is now well understood to be that of sympathy and strict coöperation. This city, as most of your readers doubtless know, is the home of the Governor elect, Horatio Seymour. Here, too, as at Syracuse, Rochester, Buffalo, Albany, and elsewhere, there were mobocratic demonstrations two years ago. Just preceding the time for which our Convention was announced to assemble here, it is understood that a meeting of "gentlemen" was held in a lawyer's office in this city, wherein resolutions were prepared for adoption in the mob meeting which was to violently take the place of our Convention. The central figure of the group assembled in that preliminary mob gathering is said, on good authority, I believe, to have been none other than Horatio Seymour!

A few days hence this same "pro-slavery patriot" is to assume the gubernatorial chair of the State. Whether in the two years interval he has experienced a "a change of heart" or not, his speeches in the late campaign furnish full answer. There must needs be a decided, vigorous policy of emancipation on the part of the Federal authorities, and an earnest public opinion to support it in our midst, to put Seymour & Co. on their good behavior and keep them from full and open coöperation with the murderous slaveholders this day fighting desperately for supremacy upon the banks of the Rappahannock.

Great indeed are the changes which have occurred in two short years. I find on revisiting these localities with which I have hitherto become familiar in the capacity of anti-slavery service, that every neighborhood has made its contribution to the national sacrifice, including many noble-hearted young men, some of whom have already fallen with the two hundred and fifty thousand slain—victims of disease and battle. At Brockett's Bridge, where we had a very good meeting, I learned, with much grief, of the death, in the second Bull Run slaughter, of Mr. Dwight Fairman. He was a most generous, noble-hearted young man, with fine intellect, earnest anti-slavery impulses, and of rare promise for future usefulness. He was an officer in the 97th N. Y., and was killed on the 30th of August. He was shot through the lungs, fell, and while being lifted to his feet again by a comrade he was shot through the head by a rebel sharpshooter, and died instantly. Two years ago, when at Brockett's Bridge upon an anti-slavery mission, I was his guest, enjoyed much his genial companionship, and his manly, earnest coöperation. He was greatly beloved by a large circle of friends. When such as he are murdered by slavery, be its instrument a rebel sharpshooter, or a "strategical" McClellan, the sacrifice is a most precious and costly one. If the blood of martyrs "be the seed of the church," we may rightfully expect in due season a true church of freedom in return for such precious blood.

We were very warmly welcomed, and most hospitably entertained at Brockett's Bridge by Mr. Zenas Brockett and family.

There is mourning on account of the war literally in every household of the communities we have visited, and there are evidences that this "discipline of sorrow" is not fruitless in good results. But the disease of slavery still continues to prevail alarmingly with many people. Its symptoms, as of old, continue to be contempt for the colored race, hatred of Abolitionists, idolatrous worship of "the Union," with much nervous solicitude, lest, by some means, freedom may become universal throughout the land. There were apparently some men of this sort at Salisbury Centre, where, notwithstanding their adverse influence, we had a very fair meeting. At Fairfield, a very pleasant village in Herkimer County, I gave two lectures in a Methodist church. There is located here quite a flourishing seminary under the direction of Rev. Mr. Cochran, a Presbyterian minister. Among my auditors were some of the students. A portion of them gave evidence, however, of not having been "trained up in the way they should go," by unceremoniously leaving and slamming the church door behind them, in the midst of my second lecture. I was speaking upon the religious aspects of the times, and just then was commenting upon Horatio Seymour and his Episcopalian Church brethren. The Methodist minister at Fairfield, Rev. Mr. Meredith, gave us very friendly coöperation. We shared the welcome hospitality of Mr. and Mrs. D. W. Cole, who are most hearty and faithful Abolitionists. They read most attentively, and with [illegible] The Standard as a weekly visitor.

We had an excellent meeting at Middleville. It was arranged for by Mr. L. L. Kelsey. Mr. K. is a very earnest Abolitionist, "brought to the light" by the early labors of Abby Kelley Foster. Some ministers are evidently becoming emancipated as the "rebellion" goes on. At Middleville the Methodist clergyman, Rev. Mr. Beck, came to the meeting, and participated in it with a very hearty, radical, outspoken expression, without inquiry or hesitating as to whether we were orthodox or heterodox, but giving us warmly the right hand of fellowship as an Abolitionist.

How lamentable that religious bodies, organized in the name of Jesus of Nazareth, should follow in the wake of politicians, waiting for Presidential proclamations to preach emancipation, and for a public opinion to be otherwise created which, as the tide rises, shall float them as a dead weight up to a higher level. Such is really the case among the popular Churches of this country, with here and there a noteworthy exception.

Yesterday morning I attended the First Congregational Church of Whitesboro, Rev. Beriah Green's, and addressed his congregation. He has a very small congregation, made up of a few earnest men and women such as can bear his very searching, sifting ministration. Mr. Green takes the high ideal of Christianity, enforces and insists upon its practical application to public affairs, and in individual life, as does no other preacher whom I hear. So earnest, strenuous and zealous is he in this that his graduating class of church communicants is of necessity a very small one. His school is for the most advanced pupils, such as live nearest to God in the sphere of the "higher law." Most of the people, reared in the nursery of pro-slavery sentiment, graduate to intermediate or primary schools of religious instruction, leaving Mr. Green, and such as he, pretty much alone. He will be read, loved and honored in the next generation, after slavery shall have been abolished, and its demoralizing effects shall in part have passed away.

Aaron M. Powell.

LETTER TO A MEMBER OF CONGRESS.

Esteemed Friend: I have read the President's Message to Congress with feelings of pleasure and pain. I was glad to find he seems to stand firmly by his proclamation of conditional emancipation relative to the rebel States, if they continue in their rebellion to the term specified in said proclamation—of which, happily, there is now every probability. But I am mortified and saddened by his proposed plan of emancipation, as he calls it, in the year 1900—but which, I think, more truly should be denominated his plan to *save slavery* till that period, and forever after, so far as any provision for its extinction exists in the scheme he has presented. On reading it through, and looking at the different parts, the ejaculation spontaneously arose, Is our President crazy? Most certainly it never was penned in a lucid, mental interval. Let us analyze a little some of the main points embraced in it.

"Art. 1. Every State in which slavery now exists, which shall abolish the same at any time or times before January 1, 1900, shall receive compensation from the United States as follows, to wit: The President of the United States shall deliver to every such State bonds of the United States bearing interest at the rate of —— dollars for each slave shown to have been therein by the 8th Census of the United States. Any State having received bonds as aforesaid, and afterwards reintroducing or tolerating slavery therein, shall refund," etc.

From these provisions it is manifest that the abolition of slavery in any or all such States may be postponed till a single day before the time specified, or never be adopted at all. Meanwhile slavery may be doubling or quadrupling, and the slave oligarchy consequently arming itself with power to perpetuate it *ad libitum*, and the victims of the horrid institution grinding out their souls and bodies in the prison-house, to pamper the bodies of their oppressors! For no provision whatever is made, immediate or gradual, securing the abolition of the system, even within the frightfully long time granted slavery to "run and be glorified." Besides, what reason have we to suppose that, after the present actors have passed from the stage of being, our wishes will be regarded by another generation, who have grown to manhood, possessing all the rights and responsibilities we do to act for themselves? It is our duty to do right, according to our ability, now while time is ours, and leave a legacy of impartial and equal rights to all our fellow-beings, children of our common Parent, who, embracing all equally in His love, can be no "respecter of persons."

Subsequently, reminding us that the plan to be adopted will require the concurrence of *seven* of the slave States, he says, "Their concurrence, if obtained, will give assurance of their severally adopting emancipation at no very distant day upon the new constitutional terms. This assurance would end the struggle now, and save the Union forever." But where is the evidence that their concurrence would give any positive assurance of such a result. Men change their minds. And with or without a change of mind, may they not conclude to continue the system? May they not even agree to the measure as a point of pro-slavery strategy?

Our President tells us again, "if his plan shall be adopted, emancipation would follow, at least in several of the States." Of course it would follow in just as *many* of the States as adopted it sincerely, with the design that the President had in view, and not in one State more; and the seed of oppression would remain in the fertile soil of this great and beautiful country "to strike root and grow" as it has done, by compromise and concession, since the origin of the government, producing its legitimate fruits of immorality of every type, haughtiness, despotism, cruelty—by lynching and murder of those who dared to raise their voice against it, and lastly, rebellion and this bloody and wide-spread war in which our country is involved!

Instead of thus "playing with" this savage and raging hyena, and attempting to "draw out Leviathan with a hook," why does he not use the power which Providence has given him, and with which that able statesman, John Quincy Adams, demonstrated the exigencies of the nation would constitutionally invest its Executive, viz., to declare at once *universal* emancipation throughout the States? Thus doing, the wise and good in earth and heaven would stand by him. He says truly, "Without slavery the rebellion would never have existed; without slavery it could not continue." And does he not know, that "that which has let will let, until it be removed out of the way"?

He dwells with emphasis on the compensation and justice to the slaveholders embraced in his plan, but seems to find none for the slaves who have been working for them all their lives without wages, and, with a bare subsistence, piling up the wealth of their unrighteous owners. Is there no justice in our President's soul for these "robbed and peeled" of our Father's children? Is not compensation more imperatively called for in reference to them? Is the simple recognition of their God-endowed right to freedom to be deemed compensation enough for them? That indeed is the first duty which Justice requires, but her demands stop not there. The former slaveholders will still have their palaces, and broad acres, and free and paid labor on them would soon make their plantations worth more than land and slaves combined are worth now. But the slave has neither. Is he entitled to no portion? In its application, I would merely refer the President to the proposition he himself lays down: "In times like the present, men should utter nothing for which they would not willingly be responsible through time and in eternity."

I have spoken of those who may be freed on the adoption of the plan by certain slave States. But the *persons* and the *number* of such slaves would be exceedingly dubious and uncertain. The present generation might all or most of them pass away before the boon is received. And where is the compensation and justice for them! Will Abraham Lincoln assume the responsibility to them and eternity for their continuance in slavery? To him it *will* cling with the tenacity of a death grasp, for he has the power, by a declaration commanding it, to inaugurate the freedom of all; and *only* by a failure on the part of the nation to consummate the measure can he be relieved of that responsibility and stand acquitted at the bar of impartial Justice. But of such a failure there need be no fear. And were it so, he would have the priceless satisfaction of having done what he could—and his name would be enshrined by posterity among the benefactors of the race. He says that in the event of the adoption of his plan the slaves "would have nothing to run from." Would they not, if left to the option of their present oppressors during the period of a whole generation! Who "would not run" under such circumstances? Would not President Lincoln? And then, is the [illegible] and abominable Fugitive Slave Law to be continued or re-enacted?

I regret that our worthy President—for, notwithstanding the plainness of my strictures, I have, from the first, entertained for him a sincere affection—I regret he has thought proper to moot anew the subject of colonization. Why present in his own person, or by his example cherish in the minds of others, that wicked prejudice against our colored brother, the child of the same all-wise Parent, who, in the variety that marks his consummate handiwork, has dyed with every hue the floral and animal kingdoms? Why should we, President or private citizen, seek to deprive him in any way of a participation in the blessings of the land and the government!—the first an ample and glorious domain for all, and the latter, in its legitimate principle the best that the sunlight of our planet has ever shone upon. He, equally with the white population, has a natural title to both. We have no more right to colonize him, or invite him to be colonized, than he has to colonize us. This I deem a self-evident proposition. Should we, like the semi-barbarous Hebrew in the days of Moses, have one moral rule for the Jew and another for the Gentile—one for ourselves and another for other people! True morality, as it comes from God, is unchangeable, the same at all times. It is righteousness that exalts a nation, and nothing else can. Human rights are not contingent on complexion, caprice, or any adventitious circumstance. They are implanted in the principles of human nature by the Creator himself, and their universality and equality are affirmed by the identity of that nature. And until that universality is universally recognized, harmony never can exist throughout the world of mankind, nor in minor communities.

Thine, with desires for the advancement of righteousness and goodness—the only security for the permanent prosperity of our country.

Thos. McClintock.

Philadelphia, 12 Mo. 8, 1862.

THE PRESIDENT AND THE CABINET.

The people were startled on Saturday by the announcement that Mr. Seward had resigned the office of Secretary of State. Shortly afterwards came intelligence that Mr. Chase had also sent in his resignation, and it was generally supposed that the President, from necessity if not from choice, would organize a new Cabinet throughout. But, after a day or two of confusion and uncertainty, came the news that both Mr. Seward and Mr. Chase had, at the earnest solicitation of the President, withdrawn their resignations, and that the Cabinet remained exactly as it was before, except that Mr. Smith, of the Department of the Interior, would resign in accordance with a previous announcement, and for reasons wholly distinct from those which influenced Messrs. Seward and Chase.

This Cabinet imbroglio, in its origin and results, is to us such a "muddle" that we shall not attempt to explain it to our readers, but refer them to other journals for immediate information, while waiting to hear more fully from our Washington correspondent, who, we doubt not, will be able to give a very satisfactory account of the whole matter. If we are disappointed and sorry that Mr. Seward has resumed his portfolio, there is some comfort in observing that the pro-slavery papers are very angry in view of the present state of affairs. They evidently feel that all their schemes for compelling the President to recede from his emancipation policy have failed.

The President is supposed to have made up his mind to the appointment of Judge Usher, Chief Clerk in the Interior Department, in place of Hon. Caleb Smith. A dispatch in *The Times*, however, says: "A new movement is on foot, with a view to the appointment of Speaker Grow as Secretary of the Interior, and the election of Hon. Schuyler Colfax Speaker of the House. This arrangement, it is thought, will satisfy the Senate, and prevent a disruption of the Cabinet."

FUGITIVE SLAVES HEADED UP IN RICE BARRELS.

THE STORY OF WILLIAM SUMMERSON.

I was born in Charleston, S. C., in June, 1839. As I was once a slave, but, by the blessing of the Almighty, have become free, I wish to preserve a little history of my life and deliverance.

My mother was of mixed blood. My father was Robert Summerson, a white man, from the North. He left two children when he went North, my brother and myself. When I was seven years old, my brother and my mother were sold down South. My owner allowed my aunt to take me to raise, and she kept me till I became old enough to work. They then took me from her, and "hired me out." After I became large enough to take care of myself, I hired my own time, paying them so much a month. I went on a steamer between Charleston and the head of St. John's River, Florida. I got along as well as I could in a state of slavery until the death of my owner. The children then took charge of me, and I did not fare so well. I went on the steamer until the Star of the West was fired on, when I left my situation lest I should be obliged to do something against the Federal forces.

I remained in Charleston, working four months in the arsenal, putting up ammunition for the rebels. After I left the arsenal I went to the Charleston Hotel, to wait on Gen. Beauregard, Major Lee, Capt. Jones, and Capt. Ferguson. I waited on them about three and a half months. When Gen. Beauregard was going to Richmond, he wished to take me with him, but I hid myself across the river, so that he could not take me. After he went, my owner took me to drive an express waggon for his store. Then, when the clerks had to go to war, he put me in as clerk. I remained there up to the time I made my escape.

Ever since I knew enough to know right from wrong, I have wanted to get my freedom, but there was no way of escape. Slavery walled me in. While I was in Charleston, in March, 1862, I was married. The May following, my wife was to be carried back into the country, and I might never see her again; so I hid her from the last of April until we escaped together. She was hidden with some of my friends, and as the slaves escaped so constantly to the blockade, no one searched for her. At 12 o'clock on Friday, June 13, my mistress sent down to the store for me, and told me to go down to lawyer Porter, in Broad street. He was brother to my mistress. He said to me, "William, would you rather go into the country with your mistress or be sold?" A great agony came over me, for I should have to leave my wife, and might never see her face again. I told him I would rather go with my mistress, and he said, "No, you cannot go with your mistress; you must be sold." Then he took me to the Court-House to have some traders estimate my value. One said I was worth $1,000, another $1,100. He then told me he would give me till the next day to find a man to buy me. I could not find any one to buy me, and he knew I could not. This was only a form, to make me submit. While I was in the Court-House, and the traders were examining me, I lifted my heart to the Almighty, and besought him to make a way for me to escape. After I left the Court-House, I went back to the store, and that night, the last that was left me, as I prayed and groaned before the Almighty, He put a plan into my head which carried me safely to freedom. The plan was this: I had a friend, also a slave, who came from the country three times a week with vegetables. The place was called St. Andrew's Parish; it was about seven miles from Charleston. I thought after he had disposed of his load, I would get him to put me in a rice barrel and take me back in his waggon. This was the only way I could get out of the city. The days on which he came in were Monday, Thursday and Saturday. He had a pass for the waggon. I saw him on Saturday morning. I was to be sold that afternoon, and we made the agreement. I left the store at 12 o'clock that day, and went to the place where I had agreed to meet him, and hid under a piazza. He drove up to the piazza, and I got into the barrel, and he headed me up, and I was put into the waggon, and he drove away. After we drove through the city we came to the new bridge over the Ashley river. There were fifty pickets stationed by this bridge. One read the pass at the bridge, and we passed on. Every half mile for seven miles we met a rebel picket, who stopped the waggon, read the pass, and had the right to search the waggon. I took my clothes, and a picture of John Brown, which I had kept with my few treasures, in the barrel with me. We left Charleston at 6 p.m., and reached the plantation at 10 p.m. I got out at 10:30 p.m.; so I was in the barrel four hours and a half. This driver went back to the tily, and was to bring my wife in the same way. She was taken to a stable, and put into a barrel and headed up. He took her through the city as he did me, but the mule had worked all the day before, and would not draw well, so they had to stop and rest, which made it 12:30 at midnight when she got there. She got into the barrel at 4 p.m., so she was eight hours and a half therein.

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* Since this article was penned, Gen. Burnside, in a letter that does credit to his frankness, has assumed the full responsibility of the Fredericksburg battle.

On the road one of the rebels got into the waggon and sat on the barrel she was in, and rode half a mile in that way, and only the power of the Almighty kept the barrel from breaking and bringing her to light. After she got there, she could not move, and was drenched with perspiration. We fanned her, and finally managed to restore her. We staid there till Wednesday, 12:30 midnight. We walked three miles through a swamp, with the water up to our knees. After we got to this point, we had to cross a railroad bridge about fifty feet high. We walked across on the sleepers. It was about half a mile long, and was on the Charleston and Savannah railroad. About a quarter of a mile beyond was a boat that my friend, the driver of the vegetable waggon, had brought for me. I found a man there who wanted to escape, but did not dare venture; but I persuaded him to go with us. We then started. We had fifteen miles to go before we could get to the Federal blockade, and on the way we had to pass a rebel gunboat and a fort. I meant to wait till the tide fell, so that the gunboat would go back in the Cut where she lay at low water, but I did not see her till I got close upon her, and heard the men talking, and looked up and saw them on the deck. I kept close to the marsh, so they might not see me, and managed to get round the point. About a mile and a half above this point was the fort which I had to pass. I passed the fort in the same way as I passed the boat. After I got a little beyond, I crossed on to the same shore that she was, and after I got a little way along the shore, day broke as clear as could be. I looked back and could not see the fort, and I knew I was out of their reach. About two hours and a half later we reached the Federal gunboats in Stono river. When I got in sight of the Union boats I raised a white flag, and when I came near, they cheered me, and pointed to the flagship Pawnee. There I had the pleasure of a breakfast of hot coffee, ham, nice butter, and all under the American flag—all strange things in Charleston. There I gave the Almighty praise and glory for delivering me so far. On board the Pawnee I told the Captain about Charleston harbor, and how the vessels run the blockade, and the next day but one they took two vessels from the information I gave them. Then we were put on board a transport vessel for Port Royal and reached there in safety. Capt. Elwell, Chief Quartermaster, gave me a piece of land, and I built me a little house. I waited on Capt. Elwell, and my wife washed for him and other officers. My wife used to sew for Gen Hunter's wife, and about a week before we came North Gen. Hunter gave me a paper that made me forever free. Capt. Elwell seemed to be the man that the Almighty raised up for my help, for he was like a father to me, and I shall always bless him and pray the Almighty to protect and prosper him in all his ways. He went with me to Gen. Hunter to get my free paper, and cared for me to the last moment. When I think of his kindness, I say the Lord will never leave nor forsake me, for He raised him up for my comfort when I was seeking the freedom which I now rejoice in, and for which I shall always praise the Almighty. WILLIAM SUMMERSON.

MR. CONWAY'S RESOLUTIONS.

THE following are the resolutions lately introduced in the U. S. House of Representatives by Mr. Conway of Kansas, and laid on the table, Mr. C. himself only voting in the negative.

Resolved, That freedom and slavery cannot coexist in the same government without producing endless strife and civil war; that "a house divided against itself cannot stand"; and that "this union must be all free or all slave."

Resolved, That the American Union consists of those States which are now loyal to the Federal Constitution.

Resolved, That whether the seceded States have accomplished a revolution or not, they have lost their place in the Union and all right to its guaranties; and that the Union has a claim to their territory, never to be relinquished, but to be assured by arms or otherwise, now and hereafter.

Resolved, That the restoration of the Union as it existed prior to the rebellion, would be a greater calamity than the rebellion itself, as it would give new life to the "irrepressible conflict," and entail upon the nation another cycle of bitter contention and civil war.

Resolved, That the seceded States can never be put down but by being regarded as out of constitutional relations with the Union, and by being assailed upon principles of ordinary warfare as between separate nations.

Resolved, That if any person in the employment of the United States, in either the legislative or executive branches, should propose to make peace, or should accept or advise the acceptance of any such proposition, on any basis which would restore the Slave Power to its former supremacy in the government; or by any new compromise or amendment to the Constitution, recognize slavery as an element of political power, such person will be guilty of a high crime.

Resolved, That the superior resources and military prowess of the North in this struggle are beyond dispute, and that the question of its success turns not upon its relative ability, but on the fitness of its Chief Executive Magistrate for giving effect to its power.

Resolved, That it is unsafe to entrust the execution of any system of administration to persons who are not in cordial sympathy therewith; and that no change of policy in the conduct of the war is more than nominal, which is not accompanied by a complete change in the *personnel* of the Executive Department.

Resolved, That it is a matter for serious reflection whether another election of President must not supervene before the rightful authority of the nation can be established; and whether, in the mean time, it is not a flagrant waste of our energies to continue the war.

Resolved, That unless the Army of the West shall have swept through the Valley of the Mississippi to its mouth, and the Army of the Potomac annihilated the legions of Lee and Jackson, thus subverting the military power of the rebellion, within a reasonable time, the best interests of the country and humanity will require a cessation of hostilities.

Resolved, That the States of the North, composing the American nation, and wielding its power, must ever remain one and indivisible on the basis of freedom for all, without distinction of race, color or condition; that their mission must ever be to extend their own civilization over the entire continent, and that whatever derangements, difficulties, checks or defeats they may encounter they must forever cherish and pursue the inspiring idea of nationality and continental dominion.

GERRIT SMITH spoke "On the State of the Country" at the Cooper Institute on Sunday evening last, to a crowded audience, presenting with great clearness the argument for Emancipation as the only way of salvation for the country. His address, in short, was in support of the following preamble and resolution, which were adopted at the close by the unanimous vote of the audience:

Whereas, It is no less true of a nation than of an individual that to be just is to be saved, and to be unjust is to be lost; and,

Whereas, Among all the greatest violations of justice, slavery is pre-eminent,

Resolved, Therefore, that, whatever the things which need to be done by the nation, in order to be saved, the penitent putting away of slavery must not be left undone.

"Father Kemp's Old Folks," being present, delighted the audience by singing some of their old-fashioned pieces, very appropriate to the time and place.

INSULTING THE DEAD.—In the Court House at White Plains, Westchester County, N. Y., hangs a portrait of the late Hon WILLIAM JAY, who for so long a period presided therein as a magistrate. It was placed there several years ago by the Board of Supervisors, in accordance with the wish of the Bar, of which Judge Jay was an eminent member. Recently, certain leading Democratic politicians of the County devised a plan to remove the portrait, alleging that, as the subject lived and died an Abolitionist, he did not deserve to be thus honored. The proposition, however, excited so much indignation among men of all parties, that the resolution to remove the picture was indefinitely postponed in the Democratic Board of Supervisors.

MILITARY GOVERNOR OF FLORIDA.—A delegation of Congressmen, headed by Vice-President Hamlin, lately presented to Mr. Lincoln a petition of loyal Floridians that Eli Thayer be made Military Governor of Florida, with authority to enlist and take to his command 20,000 emigrants of a fighting breed. The petition was endorsed by 131 members of Congress, and bore Gen. Hunter's certificate of approval. The President gave the subject most favorable attention, and promised speedy action.

TWO CANDIDATES.—In the Newbern (N. C.) District, where an election for member of Congress has been ordered, there are two candidates—one on the platform of free labor and the other in opposition to the Confiscation and Emancipation acts. The latter receives the active support and aid of Gov. Stanley, and will doubtless be elected.

HONESTY is the best policy in medicine as well as in other things. AYER'S SARSAPARILLA is a genuine preparation of that unequalled Spring medicine and blood purifier, decidedly superior to the poor imitations heretofore in the market. Trial proves it.

Our Washington Correspondence.

WASHINGTON, Dec. 21, 1862.

I WRITE under the disadvantage of being in the midst of contest—a difficulty which is not yet settled, and yet which doubtless will be composed before this is printed and reaches your readers. I allude, of course, to the Cabinet imbroglio. Mr. Seward has resigned, but the question is will he *stay so*? Before going into this question, however, let me say a few words respecting the causes that have led to Mr. Seward's resignation. I have not been backward in this correspondence in expressing my opinion of Mr. Seward, and your readers know very well that the Cabinet has not been a unit upon the subject of slavery. The weakness of the Administration has arisen from this want of congruity in the Cabinet. Mr. Chase has been firmly anti-slavery all the time, from the first, never changing. Mr. Seward was opposed at first to meddling at all with slavery—wanted it understood that "the Union" as it was "was to be restored, but gradually, after terrible disasters, came into the support of the Emancipation policy of the President. And yet he has supported it very faintly and feebly, and though he has *written* tolerably well in his later dispatches, yet it is well known that he has *said* things he ought not to have said upon the subject since those later dispatches were sent off. In short, it has been almost impossible to ascertain his *real* sentiments on the Emancipation question. He has talked so singularly to his friends, so variantly that even they, however intimate with him, could not venture to speak *positively* of his position. So to-day the Border State men claim that Mr. Seward went out of the Cabinet because he was opposed to the Emancipation policy of the President, while other people say there is not a word of truth in it. It is evident enough that there was cause for an explosion—there was cause for the resignation. But what the *exact* cause was perhaps no one but Mr. Seward knows. It is probable, however, that the simple fact, that so many Republican Senators were in favor of his resignation, caused it. The Senate caucus did the work, no doubt. Some of the most prominent men in the Senate long ago lost faith in Mr. Seward, and he could not go on much longer without lessening the distrust in his loyalty to the Republican party. Mr. Blair was with Mr. Seward warmly. The two have stood together on various questions. Both were friends of McClellan, and were opposed to his removal; both agreed on the slavery question, at least up to the issuance of the proclamation, and it is now said that if one has gone out of the Cabinet, the other should follow suit.

It is claimed by a great many intelligent persons here, and many of them Republicans, that if Mr. Seward goes out, Mr. Stanton, Mr. Blair and Gen. Halleck should do the same—Halleck leaving the army. In other words, they demand a general break-up of the Cabinet, and the construction of a new one, with Seward, Smith, Blair and Stanton left out, and a new man in general command of the army of the United States. It is alleged that Stanton is very unpopular, that he has blundered terribly, that Halleck has shown himself to be incompetent for the command of the troops in the service of the United States, and that there shall be a general overhauling of the incompetents.

And here lies the difficulty in the way of permitting Mr. Seward to resign. The anti-slavery Republicans have lost confidence in him, yet it is said that if he resigns, other members of the Cabinet must also get out of the way—hence these members may be interested in persuading Mr. Seward to reconsider his determination. There is still another view of the subject that has given the President a great deal of trouble, and has led some of the very best members of the Cabinet to doubt the wisdom of permitting Mr. Seward to retire. It is the effect abroad. The retirement of the Secretary of State and a general break-up, it is said, would have a disastrous effect abroad, for it would be misinterpreted and misunderstood. How much weight there is in these suggestions I am incompetent to judge, but they have had a great deal in the mind of the President.

Should it turn out that the difficulty has been patched up, there is one consolation to the friends of freedom—Mr. Seward will have had his warning, and in fact if Mr. Seward remains and the Proclamation is issued upon the first of January, all will be well. It will be a certain indication that he heartily accedes to the Emancipation Proclamation and the general policy of the President upon the subject. If, on the other hand, there is a break up of the Cabinet, and all its members retire, the new Cabinet will undoubtedly represent the policy of the President. He cannot possibly commit such a blunder as to try on his old plan of mixing up incongruous elements in his Cabinet. If he does, he is doomed. There are reasons why Mr. Lincoln may cling to his old Cabinet entire, just as it was before Mr. Seward resigned, but if he is compelled to make a new Cabinet, there will be no excuse for putting men together in an Administration who differ with each other almost radically on the slavery question. It is said that Mr. Fessenden refuses to go into the Cabinet unless there is an entire break-up. But I do not believe that the President has yet gone so far as to offer a place in the Cabinet to any one. He is still trying to harmonize the old materials.

But enough of this vexatious subject. I will take up a pleasanter one. The Border State men have been trying of late to *coax* the President out of his Proclamation of Emancipation. They even went so far as to send a formal deputation to him on the subject—to beseech him to give way, to abandon his mad design of destroying the institution of slavery. They got no comfort from the President. The only thing he said, which is liable to misconstruction, was, that when the first of January came round, he would endeavor to do what was right, and if the Union could be saved without the Proclamation he would forego it. But he immediately said to one of the Kentucky members, "You know me, and when I tell you that I have made up my mind that slavery is the right arm of the rebellion, you will be convinced that it is my purpose to *lop it off!*" This is very nearly the language used by the President. It does not seem possible that he has a thought of backing down. I do not believe that he has. Certainly if he does, it will be owing to the Cabinet complications which will have crazed his brain. Such a thing is impossible.

There is a profound despondency because of the reverse at Fredericksburg. Perhaps I should say *there was*, for the tone of public sentiment is rising. That of the army itself is splendid. So long as the people and the army have good pluck, there is everything to hope for as we still are vastly the superiors of the rebels in numbers and the munitions of war. We shall triumph yet, if the people can endure the generalship of our side—if our reverses do not break their spirit. I am surprised to hear of the condition of the army. It is not in the least daunted by the repulse, and would fight as bravely to-day as it ever has done. This is wonderful under the circumstances. I am told that, the day before the crossing of the Rappahannock was attempted, the troops were in magnificent spirits. They never were in a finer condition under McClellan, and had entirely lost that feeling of sadness and regret which is consequent upon a change of commanders. There were *officers* who had not forgotten McClellan, and *they* did not feel very bad over the reverse. It is but just, however, to say that these officers were few in number. All who engaged in battle that memorable day acted their part *well*.

We will soon hear encouraging news. The first item of it comes from North Carolina. Gen. Foster has beaten the rebels and captured Kinston. Before long we have a right to expect that Charleston and Mobile will be captured. This is the programme, and Mr. Welles has the month of January in which to accomplish these victories. He is dependent, however, upon Gen. Halleck, to a great extent, for a land force to coöperate with the navy, and Gen. Halleck is a very obstinate man. Put him in the field, and he is every whit as cautious as McClellan. But in spite of blunders and the obstinacy of officials, the good time of military success is coming. AROX.

NOTICE.—The call for copies of "The Anti-Slavery History of the John Brown Year" has been so considerable, that no more copies can be sent for the amount of postage, as heretofore offered.

FOR GRATUITOUS DISTRIBUTION.—The valuable and still timely tract, by Mrs. L. Maria Child, entitled, "The Right Way the Safe Way, proved by Emancipation in the British West Indies, and elsewhere" (108 pages), will be sent by mail to any person requesting it, and enclosing *six cents* in undefaced postage stamps. Address SAMUEL MAY, JR., 221 *Washington Street, Boston.*

Proceedings of Congress.

In the Senate on the 18th, Mr. Wilkinson (Repub., Minnesota) offered a resolution that the Committee on the Conduct of the War be directed to inquire into the facts relative to the recent battle at Fredericksburg, Va., and particularly as to what officer or officers are responsible for the assault which was made upon the enemy's works, and also for the delay which occurred in preparing to meet the enemy. Amended, so as to direct that the Committee report the result of their investigations in the Senate, and adopted.

Mr. Sumner (Rep., Mass.) offered a resolution requesting the President (if not incompatible with the public interest) to communicate to the Senate any information he may have in his possession, showing why Gen. Saxton was removed from his command at Hilton Head. [The report of Gen. Saxton's removal turns out to be false.]

On the 19th Mr. Henderson of Missouri introduced an important bill, granting the aid of the United States to the State of Missouri to emancipate the slaves in said State. It provides that whenever satisfactory evidence shall be presented to the President of the United States that the State of Missouri, through its General Assembly or other properly constituted authority, has adopted a law, ordinance or other provision for the gradual or immediate emancipation of all the slaves in said State, it shall be his duty, assisted by the Secretary of the Treasury, to prepare and deliver to the Governor of said State, as hereinafter provided, to be used by said State to compensate for inconvenience, produced by such change of system, bonds of the United States to the amount of twenty-five millions of dollars, bearing interest at the rate of six per cent. per annum, and payable thirty years after the date thereof; provided that said bonds shall not be delivered as herein directed, unless the act of emancipation shall be adopted by said State within eighteen months after the passage of this act, nor unless said act shall provide that slavery or involuntary servitude within said State, except in punishment of crime, shall forever cease and determine on some day not later than the 4th day of July, 1865. The bill was referred to the Judiciary Committee.

Mr. Pomeroy (Rep., Kansas) called up the resolution for a Joint Committee on the President's Message relative to compensating States for the emancipation of their slaves. Mr. Sumner (Rep., Mass.) thought that we should not organize any more Committees. We have now a Committee in the Senate to whom all constitutional questions were referred. The resolution was postponed.

In the House on the 17th, in Committee of the Whole, Mr. Noell of Mo. made a strong speech in support of the Administration and exposing the spirit and designs of the pro-slavery Democracy. He said: "When slavery comes in as an element of rebel strength, and the question is presented between its perpetuation and the preservation of the Union, then let the former die. He would go not in the suppression of the rebellion, that slavery should never again produce results similar to those now witnessed. He was against compromise with men who were now endeavoring to break up the government. He would agree to nothing but absolute submission on their part. He spoke the opinions of the straight-out loyal men of the Border States. He advocated emancipation in the Border slave States. He stood by the government, by such men as Andrew Johnson. There were but two parties, one for war, the other for compromise. He would not lend himself to any scheme to produce strife among the people, to divide the national councils, and weaken and unnerve the arm of the government and strengthen the cause of the enemy."

On the 18th, Mr. Bingham (Rep., Ohio), from the Committee on the Judiciary, reported back the bill extending relief to loyal men for slaves wrongfully taken or abstracted, with a recommendation that it do not pass.

Mr. Wickliffe (pro-slav., Ky.) who had originally introduced the bill, remarked that it had been referred to the Committee of the Judiciary, contrary to his wishes. His preference was to have it referred to a Select Committee. He did not, however, despair of satisfying the House that some legislation on this subject was necessary. The bill did not interfere with the new article of war forbidding any army or naval officer from returning fugitive slaves.

A long debate ensued, in the course of which Mr. Lovejoy (Rep., Ill.) said he was weary of this persistent and shameless attempt on the part of the slaveholders.

Mr. Wickliffe (from the other side of the hall.)—Do you call this a shameless attempt?

Mr. Lovejoy—I do call it a shameless attempt.

Mr. Wickliffe—I am not at all surprised to hear that from your standing and position on this floor.

Mr. Lovejoy—I call it a persistent and shameless attempt on the part of slaveholders to get the army of the United States—these volunteers, who have, of their own free will, offered up their lives as a sacrifice on the altar of their country—to turn themselves to the base business of chasing fugitive slaves. And, in this, the gentleman from Kentucky has the effrontery to appeal to the justice of the Republicans. What justice is there in holding any one as a slave? They all have the right to run away. There is just as much justice in delivering slaveholders into the hands of the slave as in delivering slaves into the hands of the slaveholders. The former might be done with great propriety, for the slaves are superior to them mentally, physically and morally; besides, their loyalty is undoubted. I protest against bringing before the House this miserable ulcer, which is sought to be uncovered here. If the rebels have friends and sympathizers on this floor, they could not do anything more than they have done to retain their positions in this hall.

Mr. Bingham (Rep., Ohio) replying to Mr. Wickliffe, said the reference of this bill to the Judiciary Committee was the proper one. In his opinion it was a violation of the Constitution, and if the principle should be established it would return some day to torment the inventor. The bill authorizes the Federal government to interfere with the rendition and determination of fugitive cases within the limits of the States, in a manner unknown to the Constitution. The Federal government cannot, by law, intervene in any State. He had heard this reiterated more than once, and not more frequently than by the gentleman from Kentucky. It was a cowardly, mean attempt to induce the House to send back to the enemy slaves who had fled to the flag of their native country for protection, and to return them to the hell of human bondage. No glossing over could conceal this. The bill was finally laid on the table, 85 against 45.

In the Senate on Monday, Mr. Lane (Rep., Ind.) made an earnest speech in support of the President's right to suspend the writ of *habeas corpus*. On Tuesday he gave notice of a bill to authorize the President to raise two hundred regiments of infantry composed of persons of African descent.

In the House on Monday, Mr. Vallandigham introduced a "peace" resolution, proposing to stop the war and to alter the Constitution in such a way as to secure the "rights" of the South. Laid over. Mr. Pendleton (Dem., Ohio) offered the protest and remonstrance of 36 members of the House against the alleged unconstitutionality of the bill lately passed to indemnify the President and others for suspending the writ of *habeas corpus*. Laid on the table, ayes 75 nays 40. Mr. Bingham (Rep., Ohio) introduced a bill for the emancipation of the slaves of rebels in the States and Territories of the United States. Referred. Mr. Bingham also moved that the Committee on the Judiciary be discharged from the further consideration of the bill declaratory of emancipation of slaves in rebel States and Territories. The motion was lost, two-thirds not voting in the affirmative. Mr. White (Rep., Ind.), from the Select Committee on Border State Emancipation, asked leave to report a bill appropriating twenty million to aid Missouri in emancipating her slaves, and that it be recommitted to the Select Committee. Agreed to—77 against 33.

On Tuesday, in Committee of the Whole, Mr. Allen (Pro-slav., Ill.) occupied an hour in speaking against the sending of freed negroes into that State against the organic law. Adjourned.

—Both Houses have agreed to adjourn during the holidays, to meet again Monday, Jan. 5.

THE MONTHLY CHOIR AND ORGAN JOURNAL is a new periodical, of which the first two (November and December) numbers are before us. The editor is Mr. JOHN ZUNDEL, the organist and choir-leader of Plymouth Church (H. W. Beecher's), Brooklyn, a thoroughly competent teacher and composer. His design is to furnish good music, useful and entertaining and valuable reading, for all persons interested in choirs, sacred music, and the organ and melodeon—a class numerous enough, we should think, to support such a periodical. Mr. Zundel promises to give his readers, during the year, 48 pages of new music for the organ and melodeon, with a view to check the now prevailing frivolous operatic style too common in church service, and to make organ-playing what it ought to be—dignified and grand without heaviness, effective and cheerful without sentimentality. He will also give a complete new Instruction Book for the Melodeon or Harmonium, arranged upon a new plan. The Vocal department will embrace three branches, viz: Music for Church Choirs, Music for Sunday-Schools, and Music for Social gatherings.

Chronicles of the War.

Latest News.

GEN. BURNSIDE has written a letter avowing his own exclusive responsibility for the battle of Fredericksburg, and declaring that, so far from having been compelled by the President and Gen. Halleck to move before he was ready, he actually moved sooner than they expected. He says: "For the failure of the attack I am responsible, as the extreme gallantry, courage and endurance shown by the men was never exceeded, and would have carried the points had it been possible. To the families and friends of the dead I can only offer my heartfelt sympathies, but for the wounded I can offer my earnest prayers for their comfort and final recovery. The fact that I decided to move from Warrenton on to this line, rather against the opinion of the President, Secretary of War, and yourself, and that you left the whole movement in my hands, without giving me orders, makes me the one responsible." This effectually disposes of the falsehoods of the pro-slavery press.

The President has sent the following letter to the army of the Potomac:

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, Dec. 22, 1862.

To the Army of the Potomac.

I have just read your Commanding General's preliminary report of the battle of Fredericksburg. Although you were not successful, the attempt was not an error, nor the failure other than an accident. The courage with which you, in an open field, maintained the contest against an entrenched foe, and the consummate skill and success with which you crossed and recrossed the river in the face of the enemy, show that you possess all the qualities of a great army, which will yet give victory to the cause of the country and of popular government. Condoling with the mourners for the dead, and sympathizing with the severely wounded, I congratulate you that the number of both is comparatively so small. I tender to you, officers and soldiers, the thanks of the nation.

(Signed) ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

Our losses in the battle of Fredericksburg are reported by Gen. Burnside thus: killed, 1,152; wounded, between 6,000 and 7,000, one half of whom are receiving treatment in the hospitals; prisoners, 700.

Gen. Foster's movement in North Carolina has been a complete success. He fought four engagements—the first at South West Creek, a short distance east of Kinston; the second at Kinston, where he took 500 prisoners and 11 pieces of artillery; the third at White Hall, not far from Goldsboro, and the fourth at Goldsboro—and in each of them the enemy was badly whipped. At Goldsboro, he burned the very important railroad bridge over the Neuse River, and subsequently another one further south, at Mount Olive. He also tore up several miles of the track of the Wilmington and Weldon Railroad. This road, running in almost a straight line from Richmond to Wilmington, carries probably nine-tenths of the travel and freight moved between South Carolina and Georgia and Virginia. By the break at Goldsboro, the rebels will be compelled to communicate with the South by the roundabout way of Raleigh, Salisbury, Charlotte and Columbia. Another successful blow at Weldon and the little cross-road at Gaston, a few miles West, would effectually sever all railroad lines from Virginia to the South save that by way of Lynchburg and East Tennessee, a line quite too long to be of efficient service. Whether Gen. Foster remains near Goldsboro, we are not informed. It is probable, however, that he has withdrawn toward his base at Newbern.

The Army and the Negroes.

"EVERYWHERE THE AMERICAN GENERAL RECEIVES HIS MOST USEFUL AND RELIABLE INFORMATION FROM THE NEGRO, *who hails his coming as the harbinger of Freedom*."—*Hon. W. H. Seward's Official Dispatch to Mr. Adams.*

"FREEDOM IN THE ABSTRACT."—A correspondent of the New York *Times* talks in the following fashion of the poor slaves who are rushing within the lines of the Union army in Mississippi:

"What shall we do with them? Along with our forces on the return, came some three hundred negroes, of all ages, sexes, color, sizes and conditions. Tramping eagerly through the deep mud, came old, paralytic women, bent with age and infirmity, who bore the pelting rain and the discomforts of the camp without complaint, their faces and souls all aglow with the thought that they were bound for the North and Freedom. Mothers waded through mud and water, carrying babies in their arms, sustained by the thought that they had at length obtained that wonderful blessing—Freedom. Barefooted children, ragged adults, young women clad in hermaphrodite suits of half petticoats and pantaloons, all came bulging on, grinning over the sublime thought that they had obtained that priceless boon—Freedom.

"Freedom in the abstract is a fine thing, and will do to fight, preach, pray, suffer, starve for; but when Freedom amounts to no more than what the negroes obtain at Helena, it is a different affair. There it means simply freedom to starve, rot, die, and the sooner the better. Since I reached that place the average daily mortality among the contrabands has been from ten to twenty. Nobody takes any further interest in them than to kick them out of the way whenever they get in it, and to curse them upon all occasions as a source of the most serious demoralization to the army. Their condition is not a single remove above that of brutes—a more degraded, helpless class of people exists nowhere on the Continent. If our philanthropy is to end in taking them away from their masters, we had better, in mercy to them, decree that as fast as emancipated they shall be shot."

TOLERATION OF NEGRO-HUNTING.—When will the law of Congress and the President's proclamation relative to negroes within the lines of our army be enforced? From all quarters we are hearing of the grossest disregard of the law by military officers. The camps of the American army must cease to be hunting-grounds for fugitive slaves. That such things should any longer continue to exist is a disgrace to the country, a disgrace to humanity; and they continue to exist because military officers set their wills born of negro hatred above the law of the United States. It is the duty of the President to see that the laws be executed; and he can at once see that the law against negro-hunting within the lines of the army be enforced. The summary dismissal of one officer for the violation of the law, would at once put an end to this shameful business.—*Commonwealth.*

WASHINGTON, Dec. 9.

Col. John McHenry, of the 17th Kentucky Volunteers, has been dismissed from the service for issuing an order returning slaves to masters from his camp, in violation of additional article of war.

THE FITZHUGH ESTATE.—*Fifteen miles below Fredericksburg, Va., Dec. 7.*—I am writing from one of the old mansions of Virginia, whose foundations were laid in the Seventeenth Century, but to whose superstructure additions have been made all along to the Nineteenth. It is a fine old place, commanding a beautiful view of the river and the valley for many miles to the east and west. Long lines of negro huts stretch to the north and south, but not a single inhabitant is to be found therein save a few poor old horses and cows, which have been placed there for protection from camp marauders. Many years ago its proprietor boasted of his thousands of acres, and his 200 or 300 negroes. Now, one of his descendants cultivates but a few hundred acres, and owns not a single slave. The only negro on the plantation is an active, intelligent fellow, who purchased his own freedom several years ago, and now receives for his labor $15 per month and his board. The plantation is one of the small remnants of that immense Fitzhugh estate, which, according to Bishop Meade, originally contained 54,000 acres. It has been cultivated for more than two centuries. Fields have been cultivated until they were worn out, then abandoned until dense pine forests covered them, then were again cleared and prepared for cultivation, and so alternating through the decades from timber to tobacco and wheat. Here, too, generation after generation, and crop after crop of negroes have been raised and sold, but instead of adding to the wealth of that proud old family, have at last almost impoverished it. The Fitzhugh family, as all know who are familiar with the history of Virginia, was one of the most aristocratic in Virginia. William Fitzhugh, the founder on this side of the Atlantic, lived really like one of the old English Barons, and during his life wielded quite as much power, having been a man of talent, culture, and force of character, as well as possessed of great wealth. But very little of his vast estate now remains in his family, although branches of it are found all along the valley, from Fredericksburg to the Chesapeake.

Last Spring, just before the advance of Gen. McDowell, fifty-four negroes occupied the huts I have just spoken of. Five of them were hastily packed in a big Virginia waggon, and trundled off in the direction of Richmond. The rest, more fortunate, anticipating the movement, escaped to our lines, and are now scattered through the North. The old mansion and the empty negro huts now look cold and desolate. And yet there is something attractive about it, and as the snow falls rapidly and the cold northeast wind shrieks and howls around the corners, and this log fire of pine knots crackles and snaps on the wide fireplace, I much prefer my seat before it than the most comfortable one under the most prominent General's tent—warmed and made pleasant as they are by many Yankee contrivances. My host, too, is a very pleasant, agreeable gentleman, and talks about his losses without cursing and swearing at the universe in general and the Yankee army in particular. As yet the present army now slowly approaching the river has disturbed him but little. His fences are in good condition, his stacks of wheat untouched, his cattle quietly eating corn-husks in the fields. But before the close of another week, as if a flock of Egyptian locusts had settled upon his plantation, he expects all to disappear. Faithfully and philosophically he awaits the coming of the marauders. He has seen what has taken place in the vicinity of Fredericksburg, and has prepared his mind to witness a similar desolation of his own plantation.—*Tribune.*

A BORDER STATE APPEAL.—The Louisville *Journal* appeals to the colored preachers of Kentucky to tell their flocks that the President's proclamation does not apply to them. *The Journal* says:

"It is a well-known fact that an impression prevails to a considerable extent among the slave population in Kentucky that they will be free on the first of January, under the proclamation of the President of the United States. If this delusion is not speedily corrected, it will be likely to lead to disastrous results to the negroes, and we know of no better means for correcting the delusion than through the pulpits of the African churches. We, therefore, for the sake of the welfare of the negroes, suggest to their preachers through the State to earnestly, zealously and energetically set themselves to work to correct the evil at once. Kentucky is not in any way included in the President's proclamation. That proclamation, which expressly refers to States or portions of States that are engaged in armed rebellion."

NEGRO HANGED AT HOLLY SPRINGS.—When Col. Lee occupied Holly Springs, Miss., some weeks since, with cavalry, a colored man gave him information which was of much importance, and led, among other things, to the capture of a rebel officer. When Col. Lee retired the negro was left behind, and was immediately hanged by a mob of citizens and rebel soldiers.

New Publications.

THE RESULTS OF EMANCIPATION. By AUGUSTIN COCHIN, Ex-Maire and Municipal Councillor of Paris. Work crowned by the Institute of France. Translated by MARY L. BOOTH, Translator of Count de Gasparin's works on America, etc. Boston: Walker, Wise & Co. 1863.

The author of this work is an eminent citizen and publicist of France, honorably identified with the cause of liberty in that country and throughout the world, and qualified by large experience as a landowner and proprietor of iron forges to collect and weigh evidence upon questions relating to the organization of labor and capital, and to the physical, social and moral condition of the laboring classes. The work is not the embodiment of theories springing up in the mind of an enthusiast, but, as the translator well says, "an array of clear and well-digested facts, presented in a calm, unprejudiced manner, and drawn from official sources, to which few men would have had so full access, and which few men would have studied so diligently and minutely. Indeed, the published and unpublished papers and records of every ministry of Europe have been placed at his disposal during the preparation of his work; in England he has had all the unpublished documents of the Board of Trade, and the sagacious Nassau Senior, one of the wisest counsellors of the British government, has rendered him constant aid. The reliability of his facts and conclusions cannot, therefore, be contested, and in this respect the work is of the utmost value to the American public, as there is no work extant in the English language which sums up so fully and incontestably the practical results of emancipation."

If the American people were not rather Atheists than Christians, they would not need an elaborate array of well-authenticated historic examples to convince them that it is safe to strike off the chains from the limbs of slaves, and dangerous only to keep them in bondage. But for the moral blindness which the practice of oppression always induces, they would know, instinctively, that it is safe to do complete and instant justice to the oppressed, and that calamity and disaster are sure to follow a persistence in the crime of slavery. Thousands of men and women, intelligent on most other subjects, talk upon this with an incoherency worthy of Bedlam. In their minds emancipation as applied to slaves is synonymous with insurrection, blood and horror. We presume that the President of the United States has hesitated to decree the abolition of slavery more on account of unfounded apprehensions as to the consequences of the measure than from any doubt of his power, as the head of the Army and Navy, to make such a decree. It is a pity that he and so many others in authority are so wanting in faith as to the natural operations of the law of Justice, and at the same time so ignorant of the facts which incontestably show that emancipation is always safe in itself and beneficent in its effects alike upon masters and slaves. For a long time the Abolitionists have earnestly labored to enlighten their fellow-citizens upon this subject, but their voices have been drowned by the clamors of pro-slavery priests, politicians and editors. Now, at length, the truth which the prejudices of the people forbade them to receive from us is beginning to find utterance in high quarters, and from the lips and pens of men who command the ear of the world. For this we are profoundly thankful to God, and we accept the fact as a sign that the day of the world's redemption from slavery is drawing nigh.

This work of M. Cochin appears in this country at a fortunate time, and we indulge the hope that it will arrest the attention of many of those who need to have their faith in justice and freedom fortified by the facts it so lucidly presents.

As the French language is to us an "unknown tongue," we are hardly qualified to testify as to the fidelity of the translation; but we can at least affirm that Miss Booth has given us the book of M. Cochin in clear and vigorous English.

THE ATLANTIC MONTHLY for January, 1863—the first number of volume XI.—is more than commonly attractive. We give the list of articles as follows: Happiest Days, by Gail Hamilton; The Promise of the Dawn—a Christmas Story, by the author of "Life in the Iron Mills"; In the Half-Way House, a poem, by James Russell Lowell; Mr. Buckle as a Thinker, by D. A. Wasson; Recollections of a Gifted Woman, by Nathaniel Hawthorne; Mr. Axtell—conclusion; The Legend of Rabbi Ben Levi, by H. W. Longfellow; My Friend the Watch, by Geo. Wm. Curtis; Benjamin Banneker, the Negro Astronomer, by M. D. Conway; The Sleeping Sentinel, by James T. Fields; Iron-clad Ships and Heavy Ordnance, by Alexander L. Holly; Andrew Rykman's Prayer, by John G. Whittier; The Strathsays, by Harriet E. Prescott; The Fine Lady, by Julia Ward Howe; A Reply—addressed to the Women of England, by Mrs. H. B. Stowe; The Soldier's Rally, by T. Jefferson Coller; Overtures from Richmond, by Prof. Francis J. Child: Reviews and Literary Notices.

Turning, first of all, to Mrs. Stowe's "Reply to the Women of England," we find it a model of sound argument, pathetic remonstrance and Christian rebuke. It ought to be circulated in every part of Great Britain, where it cannot fail to bring a blush upon the cheeks of women of the highest social rank, who, having only a few years ago besought their sisters in America to exert their influence in favor of the abolition of slavery, are now lending their sympathies to the avowed champions of the system which they then pronounced the disgrace of the Christian world. We must give extracts from this "Reply" hereafter.

We regard it as a hopeful sign of the times, that *The Atlantic*, in spite of all obstacles, is constantly gaining in circulation and influence. It not only takes a high literary rank, but is on the side of Liberty and Right in the great struggle with slavery and rebellion. Boston: Ticknor and Fields.

THE PROGRESSIVE ANNUAL for 1863 (A. J. Davis & Co., 274 Canal street) comprises "an Almanac, a Spiritualistic Register and a General Calendar of Reform"; also articles on various subjects by A. J. Davis, Sara E. Payson, Mary F. Davis, C. M. Plumb, and others. The list of writers, speakers and workers in the different fields of human progress, which has evidently been compiled with diligence and impartiality, will be found very convenient for reference. It also contains a list of all the Female Physicians in the country as far as ascertained.

LITTELL'S LIVING AGE.—We embrace the opportunity afforded by the beginning of a new volume of this work to repeat our commendation of it as among the very best of American periodicals. True, the editor sometimes dips into controversies upon theological and ecclesiastical questions in a very one-sided way; but his selections from current literature are for the most part so admirable that we have not the heart to complain of him on that account. Moreover, we confess that we always like to read the very articles which seem to give the work a flavor of religious partisanship. If we could persuade one young man to give up his cigar for a single year, and take instead *The Living Age*, we should feel that we had not lived in vain.

REJOICING.—A meeting to congratulate the slave on his emancipation is to be held at the Bridge Street Methodist Church, Brooklyn, on Friday evening, Jan. 2d. Among the speakers are THEODORE TILTON and WILLIAM WELLS BROWN.

THE TWENTY-NINTH
NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY SUBSCRIPTION ANNIVERSARY.

IN view of the colossal magnitude of the Southern rebellion, on the one hand, and of the corresponding efforts for its suppression by the American government, on the other, the Managers of the NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY SUBSCRIPTION ANNIVERSARY have deemed it expedient to defer their ANNUAL APPEAL to this late period—not knowing what events might occur, in the meantime, to render a modification or suspension of their established plan of action desirable, and wishing to be guided by the highest wisdom in such a momentous crisis.

Reverently recognizing in this awful visitation the hand of God in righteous judgment for our great national transgression, and trusting it may mercifully end in the total extinction of chattel slavery throughout the land; believing that the Proclamation of President Lincoln, emancipating forever all slaves held in States found in rebellion on the first day of January, 1863, will, if energetically and uncompromisingly enforced, inflict a staggering blow upon that fearfully oppressive system; they, nevertheless, feel that the uncertainties of civil war are too great, and the expedients of governmental and political organizations too unreliable, to justify, for one moment, any abatement of vigilance, activity, zeal, liberality, and determination on the part of those who have so long and so disinterestedly consecrated themselves to the godlike work of immediate and universal emancipation, joyfully "bearing the cross and despising the shame." With no personal or sectional feelings to indulge, no selfish ends to promote, no party or sectarian objects to attain—animated by the deepest religious sentiment and the purest patriotism—it is not for such to commit their sacred cause to other hands, to be lulled into inaction even by the most cheering signs of the times, to regard their special mission as accomplished, or to abandon their organized efforts and efficient instrumentalities which have hitherto been crowned with such animating results. Their work is, by Divine help, the extermination of slavery, root and branch; and so long as one slave remains in his fetters, and they are able to plead his cause, that work will not have been accomplished. They must continue to be "the forlorn hope" in the end, leading the way, and taking upon themselves the brunt of the conflict, until the victory be won, the captives set free, and liberty the birthright and possession of every inhabitant of our land, from sea to sea.

Granted, that the Anti-Slavery cause has grown from infantile weakness to manly strength—from universal proscription to respectful public consideration—from an apostolic number of adherents to a multitudinous host. Granted, that it is slavery which is the sole cause of the Rebellion, and that the suppression of the one may necessitate the forcible overthrow of the other. Granted, that the Emancipation Proclamation of President Lincoln, if it can be enforced, will include nearly three fourths of the entire slave population. Granted, that the rebels themselves, despairing of achieving their independence in any other way, may proclaim freedom to their bondmen, and thus secure their loyal coöperation. Still, we have to deal with stern realities, and must not allow ourselves to be deluded by mere possibilities which may never be fulfilled. Still, it must be remembered that no blow will be struck at THE SLAVE SYSTEM, as such, by the Proclamation; for slavery will continue to be recognized and protected, under the old constitutional guaranties, in all the so-called loyal slave States, and possibly reinstated in every rebel State, under the shield of State sovereignty, after its subjugation and the withdrawal of the Federal armies. Still, it is manifest that a powerful pro-slavery sentiment exists throughout the North, deadly hostile to every scheme of emancipation, defiantly claiming a strong reaction of public sentiment on its side, intent on persecuting and ostracising all who are obtaining their freedom by flight and the chances of war, and leaving nothing undone to get the control of the government, so as to make the most humiliating concessions to the South, and reconstruct the Union on a permanent slaveholding basis.

Under these perilous circumstances, therefore, there must be no indulgence given to the pleasing illusions of fancy, or to an undue exaltation of mind. The struggle for the abolition of slavery may yet be protracted for years; and, unquestionably, it will be fiercely contested to the end by all that is hostile to impartial liberty, North as well as South. We must gird up our loins anew, make a fresh consecration of our means and powers, labor with increasing devotedness, and ask for a discharge from this warfare only with the termination of our mortal life, or the liberation of all in bondage.

The Managers of the NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY SUBSCRIPTION ANNIVERSARY give notice, therefore, that it will be held, as usual, in Boston, the last week in January, 1863; and to that annual gathering they cordially and urgently invite all who abhor treason, love liberty, desire peace and reconciliation on an enduring basis, and seek the unity, happiness and prosperity of our now distracted, fearfully guilty, but we trust to be regenerated country—bringing with them (or sending, if they are not able to give their personal attendance) as generous contributions and donations as their means will allow, causing "the riches of their liberality to abound" even in "the abundance of their poverty"—assured that the proceeds thus obtained will be sacredly used, under the auspices of the AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, as hitherto, to disseminate light and knowledge on the subject of slavery by voice and pen, through the press, and by the lecturing agent—to quicken the religious sentiment, inform the understanding, stimulate the conscience, soften the heart, and so effect that mighty moral change in public opinion which is essential to the banishment of all complexional hatred and oppression, and, consequently, to the reign of universal justice and good will. It should be remembered that the pecuniary resource of the Society is largely dependent upon this instrumentality; and as its treasury is now empty, it is vitally important for its continued operations that prompt and liberal aid should be rendered in the manner already indicated.

To those everywhere who have so long and so generously aided us, we present our annual appeal, trusting it may be so ordered by the God of the oppressed that no renewal of it will be needed, by reason of the speedy and complete consummation of our labors and aspirations.

L. MARIA CHILD,
MARY MAY,
LOUISA LORING,
HENRIETTA SARGENT,
SARAH RUSSELL MAY,
HELEN ELIZA GARRISON,
ANNA SHAW GREENE,
SARAH BLAKE SHAW,
CAROLINE C. THAYER,
ABBY KELLEY FOSTER,
LYDIA D. PARKER,
MATTIE GRIFFITH,
MARY JACKSON,
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CAROLINE M. SEVERANCE,
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SARAH H. SOUTHWICK,
MARY ELIZABETH SARGENT,
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MARY JANE PARKMAN,
GEORGIANA OTIS,
KATHERINE EARLE FARNUM

Advertisements.

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Miscellaneous Department.

FOR THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD.

THE FIRST OF JANUARY, 1863.

A [illegible] New Year for this land of ours!
A New Year's song! What shall it be? A dirge
For young, proud forms that lie o'erwhelmed and wrecked
Beneath the whirl of tossing battle-surge?
A wail for orphans, holding little hands,
All vainly, for a father's New Year's touch?
For sires, who yielded up their joy of life,
Counting the sacrifice not overmuch?

Shall it be such, or none? The time is past
Of thanks for what the old year to us brought,
And hope of blessings certainly to come,
Such now were mockery. So deeply fraught
With grief and anguish has this old year been,
So sure are [illegible] of sorrow yet to be,
That not a lip in all our country's bounds
Forgets in song its moan of misery.

A dirge? What! when the angel of the sun
Looks out this morning on a country free,
And fresh winds wake, like silver trumpet-tones,
To sing the anthem of the Jubilee?
No dirge! No dirge! from throne and altar-stair
Our martyrs bless their country and their God,
And joy to think, for such consummate gain
Their blood, like sunrise, dyed their country's sod.

They have no dirge, whose dark eyes watch this morn,
As Persians watch adoringly the sun,
Their years of darkness and despairing past,
Their new, fresh life of liberty begun.
E'en those, who, driven from the line of coast,
Crowd inland rice swamps, cannot wail to-day;
A thought of hope is in each Northern wind,
"The God of Moses doth not fail," they say.

We will not mourn, we cannot. God, our God,
Is smiling down upon His own, redeemed
One part from sin, and one from slavery;
And if we had not smiled, it might have seemed
Rebellion. Though he lead us through a way
Darker than we had chosen, if the end
Be His high glory and our fellows' good,
Let thankful songs to His white throne ascend.

A song of gladness! for our country saved,
Our country true, self-sacrificing, free!
A song of triumph! for the great deed done
To guide and sanctify our destiny.
A song like Miriam's! for the broken chain,
The freedmen's huts, the lands the freedmen till.
A psalm like David's! for our Lord hath kept
His promise to His earth, and reigneth still.

St. Helena, S. C. ELLEN MURRAY.

DURKHEIM—THE GRAPE CURE.

DURKHEIM is the headquarters of the grape cure in Germany. Meran, in the Tyrol, and Vevay and Montreux, on the Lake of Geneva, have a high reputation, and are much resorted to for the same purpose, but in Germany Durkheim is the place which enjoys most fame. It is on the left bank of the Rhine, in the Bavarian Palatinate and is distant about fourteen miles due east from Mannheim. The nearest railway station is Neustadt, a small town on the line from Mayence to to the French frontier at Forbach. The drive from Neustadt to Dürkheim, a distance of about nine miles, is very beautiful, and is to be preferred to that from Mannheim. The road is a very good one, and runs along parallel to and at the base of the Haard range of mountains, on a slope which has been formed by the action of water on the light, sandy and friable soil of those hills. From a few miles to the north of Dürkheim to about twenty miles to the south, the Haardt range of mountains on its east side runs almost due north and south, having an immense flat plain about twelve to fourteen miles in breadth, intervening between it and the Rhine. This plain is very highly cultivated, and abounds in every sort of crop. The Haardt range is considered to terminate in the neighborhood of Landau, the mountain on the south side of the stream which flows through that town being properly the Vosges, though the one range is merely a continuation of the other. A slope of the same character, and due to the same causes as the one on which the road from Dürkheim to Neustadt runs, extends from Neustadt to the southern limit of the Haart range at Landau. The geological character of this slope is different from that of the great plain which extends to the Rhine, the latter being either tertiary or alluvium, while the slope is formed of the detritus that has been washed down from the hills. The whole face of this slope is covered with vines. The vine cultivation is on so enormous a scale that nothing in Germany, not even in the Rheingau, from whence the most celebrated of the German wines come, can be compared to it in extent. For some five-and-twenty miles the high road passes through the midst of a succession of vineyards, without a trace of any other cultivation meeting the eye of the traveller. Though the wines of this district do not command such high prices as the wines from the Rheingau, and are not much known out of Germany, the cultivation is conducted with as much care as in the Rheingau itself, and the wines produced are more generally consumed by the Germans themselves than any other of their wines. The Deidesheimer and the Förster are the best of these wines, and immense quantities of them are sent to all parts of Germany. The former is usually recommended by the German doctors to their patients as being the least acid of their wines. The vineyard from which these two wines come is in the immediate neighborhood of Dürkheim. A very good class of wine is made at Dürkheim, but the grapes grown there are for the most part table-grapes, as the Germans say, to be used in the grape cure and for the purposes of export. Immense quantities of them are sent daily to all parts of Germany, and no grapes enjoy so high a reputation in that country. Grapes differ materially from each other in quality: the grape which is best adapted for the purpose of making wine is not generally so wholesome and so agreeable to the taste as another which will produce an inferior wine. About twelve to fifteen different sorts of grapes are grown at Dürkheim. Many of these, if not most of them, may be often found in the same vineyard. A little practice will enable any one in a very short time to distinguish, by the eye, one sort from another; for differences exist between them not only in color, but also in form and size, as well as in the thickness of the skins. The leaves, also, of the different sorts differ in form and size. To the taste the differences of flavor are at once perceptible. Persons who have not been through a vineyard, and have not had the opportunity of tasting one different sort of grape after another, can hardly believe that there is so great a difference in flavor between the different sorts as does, in fact, exist. The grapes used in the cure are generally of four or five sorts; the two most commonly employed are called the Gutedel and the Austrian. They are both white, with thin skins, and are both of them sweet and well-flavored. The black Burgundy grape, and the small dark-red Traminer, which has been introduced from the Tyrol, are also much used in the cure, though not nearly to the same extent as the two already mentioned. The Burgundy grape is a very fine grape, and is, both in flavor and look, very like what is called in England the Black Hamburg. The Traminer is a very pleasant sweet grape, with a scented or aromatic flavor, and a very thick skin. In certain cases, it is found to disagree with patients as being too heating. The Riessling, the grape from which all the most celebrated wines of the Rheingau are made, is not used in the cure, and is not considered by the Germans as a good table grape. Chemical analysis shows that it contains more saccharine matter than either the Gutedel or the Austrian grape; but at the same time its acid properties are stronger. The Burgundy grape is still sweeter than the Riessling, but its acid qualities, though less than those in the Riessling, are greater than those in the Gutedel or the Austrian, and therefore it is not so much used in the cure as they are. The acids which are found in the juice of all grapes, in greater or less proportions, are tartaric, citric and malic acids. Much albumen, gelatine and gum, as well as a considerable quantity of alkaline matter, are always found. Careful analysis has also discovered in all grape-juice traces of tannin, and even oxide of iron. An excess of acids in the grape is found, not only to interfere with the digestion, but to affect the mouth and the teeth in such a way as to prevent a person from being able to continue the cure for the requisite period.

The grape cure lasts from three to six weeks. The regular season commences, on an average, about the middle or the first week in September, and lasts till nearly the end of October. Everything depends on the state of the ripeness of the grapes. The amount of grapes daily taken by persons undergoing the cure varies from about four and a half to seven or eight pounds; in some cases even as much as nine pounds are eaten. They are taken three times a day, at the same hours at which mineral waters are usually drunk in Germany—before breakfast, at eleven o'clock in the morning, or two hours before dinner, and at from five to six in the evening. Persons generally commence the cure with from two to three pounds a day, and advance daily in quantity till the larger limit is reached. The skins and the seeds should not be swallowed. The largest portion is usually consumed at eleven o'clock. Some doctors do not allow their patients to take any other breakfast than the grapes, accompanied by a roll of bread. The usual plan, however, is to permit them to take a breakfast of tea or coffee with bread, but no butter, after the grapes. A strict diet is universally prescribed; all fat, sour or spiced meats and pastry are forbidden; a small quantity of white light wines is permitted, but red wines, beer and milk, must be avoided. The evening meal should be a very light one. The system pursued at Dürkheim is the same as the one followed at the other places where the grape cure goes on; and the grapes which are used in the cure both at Vevay and Montreux are, as at Dürkheim, for the most part the Gutedel and the Austrian varieties.

There is a small Kurgarten at Dürkheim, formerly the garden of the castle, where a band plays at the regular hours appointed for the eating of the grapes. On one side, under the trees, there are tables covered with large baskets full of the varieties used in the cure. As at Ems and other places where mineral waters are drunk, it is the fashion for every one to buy a glass for himself, so here every one must be provided with a basket to carry the grapes which he purchases from the attendants at the tables. The price of the best grapes is at present only two and a half pence a pound. To a stranger the sight is an amusing one, and very different from anything to be met with elsewhere. Numbers of people are seen walking up and down in the little garden, each with a small black basket, full of grapes, in his hand, which he is eating with great rapidity, as if he were doing it for a wager. The place is, as may be imagined, covered with grape-skins, though some of the burly, round-shouldered Germans bolt skins and all.

On the tables where the grapes are sold there is generally a small grape-press, a miniature of the one used in the making of wine, for the purpose of squeezing out the juice or liquor, which is sometimes preferred to the grapes themselves. Persons whose mouths or teeth have been affected by the acidity of the grapes are frequently obliged to give up eating them and drink the juice or must instead. The "munching" one's own grapes is by no means essential to the cure, but the liquor pressed out is so strange, so unlike the grapes themselves, and so unpleasant, that few persons will prefer it, except they are obliged to do so.

The disease in which the grape cure is considered by the German doctors to be most beneficial is in affections of the mucous membrane of the respiratory organs. The secretive powers of this membrane are roused, and it is enabled to throw off obstructions which have assumed a chronic form. Cases of bronchitis and pneumonia are said to have been often cured even in patients of a scrofulous constitution; and much benefit is said to have been experienced by persons affected with tubercular consumption in its earlier stages. Where spitting of blood has set in, much caution must be used as to the amount of grapes taken. Persons affected with any of these complaints are in the habit of coming to Dürkheim yearly from all parts of Germany.

Dürkheim possesses an advantage over other grape cure places in having close to it a brine spring, which enables patients to combine the use of salt baths with the grape cure. The union of the two remedies is said to be especially beneficial in all maladies affecting persons of a scrofulous tendency. Complaints of the heart and liver, as well as other internal complaints, gout, and even Bright's disease, are claimed by the grape cure doctors as coming within their scope and range.

Whether the efficiency of the grape cure in the alleviation of disease be as great and as beneficial as it is claimed by its advocates to be, may be doubted, without at the same time impugning the system altogether. In this, as is in most other cases, truth lies perhaps between the extremes. A free use of grapes is probably good, and may be beneficial in the alleviation of many complaints. The action of the vegetable juices upon the animal system is a subject most imperfectly understood. Some of them, it is known, have a most powerful action as well in the prevention as in the cure of disease, but how that action takes place is still one of nature's secrets. The man who prohibits wholesale the vegetable juices, and crams his patients with mutton chops and bread, is a greater charlatan than the grape doctor who gorges and stuffs them with grapes. The course of regimen pursued by the latter includes all sorts of light and nutritive diet, whereas the former forbids even the moderate use of articles of food which seem to be especially suited for the wants of the animal system, and which in many cases, his patients have an eager craving for. Of all the vegetable juices, none seems so well adapted for man as that of the grape. In times of serious sickness, and especially in cases of fever, grapes are frequently the only food which is cared for and eaten with pleasure. Nature tells, with an unerring voice, its real wants, and speaks out with an emphasis that cannot be gainsaid. The food which, on occasions of severe crisis, when nature is put to its strain and reduced to the lowest ebb, the human system calls for, must not only be a healthy one, when taken in moderation, but must also be instrumental in the alleviation of disease. Whether the healthy action of grape-juice be due to its tartaric or citric acid, or to its sugar, or to any other of its constituent parts, or to them all in combination, neither chemists nor physiologists can tell. The property which the saliva has of turning cane-sugar into grape-sugar, seems to speak in favor of the sugar; but other facts, well known to doctors and physiologists, will support the claims of others of the component parts.

Like hydropathy, homœopathy or the cure by the drinking of mineral waters, the grape cure is perhaps carried to excess by its own practitioners. There is, however, truth in it, and it must not be treated with levity or ridicule. Much good may and little if any harm can be done by it. The process is well worthy of being tried by those who have failed to derive benefit from other systems of treatment. As an alterative, the grape cure is probably a sound system, and it deserves more attention at the hands of English doctors than it has hitherto met with. It is as an alterative that it is looked on with favor by many of the most sound and sensible doctors in Germany, and many patients are sent by them from all parts of the country to try it.

Independently of the question of grape cure, Dürkheim is well worthy of a visit. The position of the place is very charming, and several objects of interest exist in the immediate neighborhood. The town is an ancient one, but as it was burned down during the wars of Louis XIV., it contains no building of any interest. Dürkheim was formerly the capital of the Counts of Leiningen, a family now represented by the Prince of Leiningen, the nephew of our own queen, and continued their capital till the French revolution, when their castle was burned down, and the principality and all their property was confiscated. Leiningen, the *Stamm-Schloss* of the family, is a few miles distant, perched most picturesquely on the top of a conical hill. The family possess no longer any property in the neighborhood. No princely or noble families exist any longer in the Palatinate. The French revolution was the sponge which wiped them all out. Money is now the only nobility, and perfect equality is dominant. Property is much divided. The owners of vineyards are the people of the greatest influence.

Within half a mile from Dürkheim are the magnificent ruins of the Benedictine convent of Limburg, built of the red sand-stone of the country, which is as sound as on the day on which it was taken from the quarry. Like the castle of Leiningen, and many other places in the range of Haardt, the convent was perched on the flat top of a round conical hill. This common characteristic feature in the scenery of the Haardt is clearly due to the erosive action of the water of the great lake, which must at one time have filled the whole plain, before the Rhine had succeeded in bursting its way to the ocean.

Another very interesting object in the neighborhood of Dürkheim is the Heidenmauer, a circular enclosure on the top of a high mountain, overlooking the whole plain, formed of loose stones, sixty feet in breadth, twelve feet in height, and one and a half mile in circumference. The ancient Germans were probably its constructors, and its uses were, it is thought, of a religious character. Cooper, the novelist, has made it and Limburg the subject of one of his novels. Other objects of interest exist in the neighborhood, but it would be tedious to enumerate them. The scenery all over the Haardt range of mountains is so picturesque and charming that the patient is seldom at a loss how to while away the time both with instruction and pleasure to himself. Dürkheim is not the only place in the Haardt where the grape cure is carried on. Both Neustadt and Gleisweiler, in the neighborhood of Landau, are rivals. The latter of these two places is beautifully situated high up in the face of the mountains, and combines a hydropathic establishment with the grape cure. Persons who cannot find accommodation at Dürkheim are in the habit of going to either of these places. The hotel Löwe at Neustadt, near the railway station, is very good, the cooking is excellent, and the wine faultless.—*London Review.*

MR. WASHINGTON WILKS ON THE AMERICAN WAR.—On Thursday evening Mr. Washington Wilks delivered, at the hall of the Literary Institute, Newington causeway, a lecture on the American war. Mr. Dunn presided; and the room was crowded. The lecturer began by remarking that in all wars there must be a balance of right on one side, and that it was the duty of onlookers to ascertain on which side that balance lay, in order that they might afford it their moral support. With regard to the American contest, he thought it was not difficult to discover with which side England ought to sympathize. The conflict had been described as a collision of races, and there was some truth in that description. The South had been described as the aristocratic race asserting its privileges against the democratic tendencies of the North, but Englishmen would not on account of such a description refuse their sympathies to the latter. The aristocracy in question was, however, not one so much of race as of property—of property in human beings. From the foundation of the Union, and, indeed, from the settlement of the American continent, these differences had been visible, and they had at length broken out into irrepressible conflict. The question, being strictly that of limitation or extension of slavery, did not admit of any compromise. One side or the other would have to give way, and he asked did England desire that the North should subjugate the South, or that the South should subjugate the North? The lecturer contended at great length that these were the issues, and that justice and humanity were alike interested in the suppression of the system which had led to the war. The audience entirely sympathized with the sentiments enunciated by Mr. Wilks, to whom a unanimous and enthusiastic vote of thanks was awarded.

THE CHILDLESS MOTHER.

BY THOMAS MILLER.

WITH one hand pressed against her head,
This, to herself, the lady said:—

"But Sorrow cannot always weep,
Nor Grief be ever making moan!
For tears will dry, and sighs will sleep,
And Memory be left alone,
To pace the chambers of the mind—
With gloomy shadows overcast—
And see if she can solace find
Among those pictures of the past
With which it everywhere is hung,
The living mingling with the dead;
And round the shifting circle swung
So quick—I look on all in dread.

"Thus ever on the past I gaze,
What was, still linked to what is now—
Like one who in a wildering maze
Goes round about, but knows not how.

"I sleep!—but in my love awake,
Still feel about for him in bed,
Shifting my arm, as if to make
A pillow for his pretty head.
And in my dreams again I fold
My darling closer to my bosom.
Then wake to find the spot is cold
Where nestled once my blue-eyed blossom.
His form in many a thing I see,
In many a sound I seem to hear him
Calling, as he once called to me,
And start, as if I still were near him.
As when I hummed some plaintive ditty,
Of Babes who in the Wood lay dead,
And woke his childish tears of pity—
The only happy tears we shed.
Quiet don't now the kitten lie,
Which he in turn did tease and nurse;
It played about when he was by:
Still is the creaking rocking horse,
Of which I did so oft complain,
When mounted there he shook the floor:
Oh! could I have thee back again,
My child! I ne'er would murmur more.
That rocking sound awoke the bird,
And it would sing, and then wouldst shout
Until the very house seemed stirred.
Now—a sad silence hangs about,
Made sadder if that poor bird sings.
I fix my eyes upon the door,
For back another voice it brings,
Whose music I shall hear no more.
Worse than a desert unto me
My garden seems; I sit for hours,
And all the while I only see
A little coffin filled with flowers,
And then sometimes I sit and mend
The garments in thy gambols torn;
And while I o'er them fondly bend,
Forget they will no more be worn;—
Think how this rent was made in play,
And that while climbing on my knee;
And then I throw the work away,
And clasp my hands in misery.
The mat on which thou knelt'st to pray,
My folded hands enclosing thine,
I now bow down on thrice a day;—
To me it is a holy shrine.
I doze at times, and fancy brings
His footstep sounding on the stair:
His little hands untie my strings,
His busy fingers pull my hair.
And then I waken with a start,
And wonder how the inward eye
Makes such a fluttering at the heart,
Then say, "This love can never die."

"I fondly hoped I should have seen
Thy children gathering round my knee;
Pictured the comfort they'd have been
In my old age to thee and me.
With her thou to thy heart wouldst fold:
But while I sat and wove the chain
In fancied links of lengthening gold,
It suddenly was snapped in twain.

"I saw thee in my dreams last night,
Sitting beside a starry gate,
'Mid other children robed in light,
Who for their mothers seemed to wait,
As if they feared to go alone,
Where golden pillars stretched away,
Lost in the brightness of a throne.
And in my dream I heard thee say,
'My mother now will soon be here;
She is already on her way.'
And then I seemed to enter there,
And thou didst lead me by the hand,
And to an angel named my name,
Who by the starry gate did stand.
And while I hung my head in shame,
And feared he would not let me in,
I heard these pleading words from thee—
'Angel! my mother's greatest sin,
While upon earth, was loving me.'
And then we both knelt at his feet,
While heavenly music 'gan to sound;
And voices, for this earth too sweet,
Anthemed within, 'The lost is found!'"

—*St. James's Magazine.*

AN ENGLISH ESTIMATE OF CHARLES SUMNER.

[The London *Morning Star* pays the following handsome tribute to Senator Sumner:]

THE Massachusetts Senator has lately had a meeting with his constituents. Fragments and summaries of his speech at Faneuil Hall have found their way into most English newspapers. Let the sympathizers with the South produce, if they can, from their side of Mason and Dixon's line, any utterance to compare with it in all the qualities that should commend human speech to human audience. It is not a direct appeal to the sympathies of a foreign power or people, like most of the addresses that issue from the South. It is the domestic commentary of an eminent American upon measures and events equal with the greatest in American history.

This representative of a powerful community addresses to his fellow-citizens considerations upon the conduct of a war in which they and he are more deeply interested than any English constituency has been in any war which England has waged since the days of Cromwell. It is such a speech as Hampden might have spoken in Buckinghamshire, or Pym in the Guildhall. It treats both of principles and policy—of the means of success and of the ends which can alone sanctify the struggle or glorify success. It breathes throughout the spirit of justice and of freedom. It puts no difference between the negro and the white man, except that for the former it claims rights larger than the law or the sword can enforce—the rights of social equality: while for the latter it asserts the title, given by a solemn compact and confirmed by three generations of practice, to rule the American territory by the vote of the American people. There is in it no taint of a passion for bloodshed, for domination or for vengeance. And this is no sudden or exceptional exhibition of American character.

Throughout his public life Mr. Sumner has held the same doctrines, expressed the same spirit. By virtue of them, no less than of his rare abilities and culture, he has risen to the high places of the Republic. He is the leader of a party as well as the representative of the first New England State, and chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee of Congress. Too advanced a thinker, and too pure a politician for office in a Cabinet undecided on the slavery question, he has pioneered its way and shaped its conclusions. Is he not a man whose name should check the blustering apologists of slavery and secession? When he was struck down in the Senate House by a Southern ruffian, all Europe hissed at the outrage, while the ladies of South Carolina presented its bully perpetrator with a gold-headed cane. The rebellion is just such a blow at the Union as Preston Brooks struck at Charles Sumner—and yet there are English hands and voices to applaud the deed as worthy heroes of patriotism and civilization.

MR. GEORGE THOMPSON ON THE GENERAL ASPECTS OF THE TEMPERANCE REFORMATION.—On Wednesday evening last Mr. George Thompson gave a very interesting lecture to the members of the City of London Temperance Association, Albion Hall. There was a large audience present, and the chair was occupied by Mr. J. A. Horner. Mr. Thompson commenced his lecture by observing that charity should be the guiding principle in all great movements. He then proceeded to draw a parallel between the temperance reformation and other great principles with which be had been identified, and which had ultimately achieved success. He pointed out the difficulties that stood in the way of the final triumph of the temperance cause, which might be mainly summed up as "interest and appetite." He then drew attention to the more prominent features of the movement, illustrating the fact that just in proportion as the principle advanced so did the well-being of the people—by the result of his own observation in this country and the United States. This, he urged, should be an encouragement to them in their efforts to extend its influence. They had great difficulties standing in the way, but there were nevertheless powerful auxiliaries acting in their favor. Science has thrown much light upon the question, by investigating the properties of alcohol. The lecturer passed a warm eulogium upon the labors of Dr. T. R. Lees, of Leeds, and concluded an able and eloquent address of more than one hour's duration, by exhorting all to exert their utmost efforts on behalf of the movement. Mr. Thompson was much applauded during the delivery of the lecture, and at its conclusion received a vote of thanks, a compliment that was also extended to the chairman.

MR. GLADSTONE AND PROF. NEWMAN.

From The London Star.

CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE, Dec. 1, 1862.

MY DEAR SIR: I am sure that you will receive indulgently a comment I have to make on a statement in a recent letter on American affairs published in *The Star* touching a matter not of opinion but of fact.

I have not, to my knowledge, expressed any sympathy with the Southern cause in any speech at Newcastle or elsewhere, nor have I passed any eulogium on President Davis.

In dealings, whether with South or North, I have thought it out of my province to touch in any way the complicated question of praise or blame.

Perhaps I should end here; but I cannot avoid adding that I think myself a much better friend to the North Americans, if it is not presumptuous to use the phrase, than those who have encouraged and are encouraging them to persevere in their hopeless and destructive enterprise. Among these I of course assign to you the prominent place, merited alike by your distinguished powers and your undoubted sincerity.

Believe me, my dear sir, faithfully yours,
W. E. GLADSTONE.

To Prof. NEWMAN.

REPLY.

MY DEAR SIR: I am honored, and was at first embarrassed, by your kind communication; embarrassed by some uncertainty whether to answer it from a private or from a public point of view. If the matter belonged to a crisis already past, my obvious and simple way would be thankfully to acknowledge your unexpected and kind mention of me—to regret if I had misunderstood you—and express my satisfaction that you do not like to be thought to sympathize with the detestable cause of the South.

But, in the first place, I need to send your disavowal to *The Star*, that your contradiction may appear in the columns which inserted what you regard as my erroneous statement. In the next, I painfully remember that the crisis, which for America (I trust) is fast passing, is for England only at its commencement. Most glad should I be if political questions could be wholly impersonal. But even if I had your near friendship, instead of a slight acquaintance (which through your affability has justified me in occasional communication on a very few matters), still the vast importance of the future relations between England and England's greater progeny would forbid me to indulge in the pleasure of a yielding reply. It is a terrible fact that the conduct of English statesmen for which you have been represented as claiming high moral credit is at this moment goading both North and South into hatred against us. I see no chance of allaying the malignant elements which the upper classes of England have stirred up without much plain speaking, with little care whom we offend. The seeds of an unnatural and dreadful war have been sown. The plague is not yet stayed. Pirate ships are yet about to issue from Liverpool. The government, which was so active about Hale's rockets, and would not allow arms to be sent to noble Hungary, shows no signs of activity when succor in the most odious form, and most damaging to the fair fame of England, is to be sent to that Slave Power, * * * in comparison with which the late tyranny of Naples was respectable and endurable. You first earned honor with me by your denunciation of that tyranny when no other public man spoke. Much should I have rejoiced to see in you a strong heart of righteousness able to stem the tide of contemptible national jealousy.

I read your Newcastle speech with great pain—I will not say with surprise; for in a previous speech the papers had represented you as reiterating, after six months, Earl Russell's monstrously untrue epigram, that "the North is fighting for dominion, the South for independence." This I supposed to be meant as an encouragement to the South, and a gratuitous display of sympathy with it. Your Newcastle speech was, I believe, universally understood as intended to feel the way toward the recognition of the South by England. The words in it which most impressed me were, first, the declaration (which you were represented to have made) that you "expected the liberation of the slaves by their own masters sooner than from the North." This was said after the emancipation of the slaves in Columbia; after the Territories had been legislatively secured to freedom; after Congress had offered pecuniary aid to emancipation; after the President had implored rebels to accept in due time the terms offered; finally, after he had announced the day upon which the offer was to be withdrawn, and uncompensated liberation enforced. The Southern papers bitterly complain of the vast number of slaves freed by the Northern armies. To none of these things did you allude (unless the papers astonishingly belied you), but you are beside made to say, "Jefferson Davis and the other leaders of the South have made an army; they are soon, I understand, to have a navy; but, gentlemen! they have made what is more than either—they have made a nation!"

I certainly understood this as applause for a great and noble work; whether the fact affirmed be true is a separate question. Prudence sometimes imperatively enjoins silence on public men, when humble persons may usefully be open-mouthed. I do not claim that English statesmen shall denounce all the guilt of all governments. But when a power, comparable only to Thugs, buccaneers and cannibals, tries to thrust its hideous head among nations, and claims the protection and privileges of international law—a power which rose against the freest rule on earth, for the avowed motive of propagating the worst form of slavery ever known—having no legitimate complaint, or, if it had, certainly trying no constitutional means of redress, but plunging at once into arms, and that when the arsenals had been emptied, and the fortresses seized by the treason of office-holders—I hold it to be an offence against law, order and public morality for a statesman whose words carry weight to speak at all of such a power without declaring abhorrence of it; or, at least, to speak in such a tone that he can for a moment be suspected of desiring its success.

No one will believe that it is the policy of an English Ministry to encourage insurrection, as such. They must have some urgent reason for it. The party now fostered by them (not, I thankfully add, at all to the extent which the *élite* of London would have desired, but still, as no insurrectionists in the very best cause were ever before fostered), this party of insurgents has no moral claims, even if there were no North. All the world, therefore, inevitably believes that England has been actuated by an intense desire to see the destruction of the Union, and that every other pretext is hypocrisy. We have to clear ourselves of the dreadfully plausible imputation of having desired an opportunity of war at the time of the outrage on the Trent. In the letter with which you now honor me you say that you count yourself a better friend to the North than I am, in that you do not "encourage it to a hopeless and destructive enterprise." To pronounce it hopeless and destructive is to encourage and almost to justify the rebels. On no previous occasion have English statesmen taken on themselves to prejudge the ability of a friendly government to put down insurrection. I am in high hope that the righteous cause will be blessed by a righteous God, since its upholders are at length in earnest.

I have the honor to be, sincerely yours,
FRANCIS W. NEWMAN.

To the Right Hon. W. E. GLADSTONE, etc.
Dec. 4, 1862.

THE AMERICAN QUESTION.—A lecture on the civil war in America, the President's proclamation, and the position which Great Britain should assume in relation to the present struggle, was delivered in the East London Temperance Hall, Bethnal-green, on Saturday evening, by Mr. George Thompson. The Rev. H. D. Northrop, of the United States, occupied the chair. The building, which has been recently erected, and will hold about a thousand persons, was crowded. After Mr. Thompson had delivered his address, which occupied two hours in the delivery, and excited great enthusiasm, he introduced to the audience William A. Jackson, the ex-coachman of Jefferson Davis, the President of the Confederate States, who was received with great cheering. Mr. Jackson, who is a remarkably intelligent negro, of unmixed blood, delivered a brief but interesting address, in the course of which he adduced some striking proofs of the knowledge possessed by the slaves of the progress of public events. He described the deep interest they took in the contest for the Presidency between Fremont and Buchanan, and in the election of Mr. Lincoln, whom they regarded as friendly to their rights. He (Jackson) had been a member of a secret society, which had its stated meetings, at which were discussed all questions relating to the condition and prospects of the slaves. He had no doubt the proclamation of Mr. Lincoln would lead to the entire overthrow of slavery, and when that event had taken place England would get all the cotton which she required from the free labor of the colored race. At the unanimous request of the audience, Mr. Jackson consented to deliver a lecture in the same hall on Friday, the 5th of December.

FOR THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD.

DEATH THAT BRINGS PEACE.

BY FLORENCE DALE COOPER.

ONE mighty wail ascends.
Tell me, what this portends,
Echoing long?
This mighty nation's wail,
Borne in, on every gale,
Still growing strong?

Sad voices crying loud,
Old and young, low and proud,
"Where will this cease?"
Mothers on bended knee,
Praying, ask tearfully,
"Lord, give us Peace!"

Brave son, act well your part,
Mother, press tight your heart,
Bear still a while,
Not yet God wills a pause,
He knows how just the cause;
Smile, mother, smile!

Watch the inflamed eyes glare,
See a wild nation dare,
Mark what remains!
Hoarse mutterings greet the ear!
Then, amid yells of fear,
Dropping of chains.

Let the world hold its breath,
Watching this giant death.
Terrors are flying;
Huge life is ebbing fast;
Soon will all strife be past;
Slavery is dying!

New Harmony, Indiana, Nov. 6, 1862.

STORY OF THE PRESIDENT

[The Oneida *Herald* tells the following story, assuring its readers that it is veritable.]

THOSE who were of the unusually large company that besieged the waiting-room adjoining the President's apartment in the White House, on the morning of the 23d of September—the day succeeding the issue of the proclamation of freedom—will doubtless never forget a remarkable incident that then transpired. A gentleman had discovered the President, through a slight opening between the folding doors on the right of the ante-chamber, pacing slowly up and down the long and thickly-carpeted hall. Tall, angular, with hair snarled and unkempt, whiskers awry, collar in creases and slippers very much down at the heel; his eyes gazing low at vacancy, his shoulders drooping; one hand behind his back, the fingers twitching nervously; the other thoughtfully pulling at his beard—in garb ill-fitting, in face homely and impressive, and in manner patient, resolute, meditative—this was the figure that immediately after discovery became the cynosure of a constellation of eyes. Whispered remarks were made, one by an elderly gentleman to the effect that the President would not keep faith with the letter of the proclamation. A young girl of remarkable beauty, who hung upon his arm, and who had been gazing on the subject of the doubt with undisguised admiration, looked up rather scornfully and said: "Won't he? I'm not afraid of it—you shall see:" and relinquishing the gentleman's arm, she passed, to the intense astonishment of all, through the doorway, moved up the hall with an air of exquisite grace, and paused almost in front of Mr. Lincoln, who stopped in surprise. "Pardon!" pleaded the intruder in a short, French way; then, earnestly looking up in his face: "but they say, Mr. President, you will not keep your word about the slaves. I love you for the words, and say you will. Which is it?" The face of the President was radiant as he bent to take her hand and said: "*You need not fear. I shall not fail.*" The questioner, with a suppressed triumphant "I knew it," withdrew, while the slow walk in the hall went on.

REV. NEWMAN HALL ON SLAVERY AND COTTON.

ON Monday evening, at Surrey Chapel, the Rev. Newman Hall gave a lecture to upwards of 2,000 working men and others on "Passing Events," in which he severely condemned the slavery system of the States now in rebellion against the United States. He said the election successes of the Democrats revealed a formidable opposition to the Emancipation or Republican party. The Democrats were for carrying on the war as much as the others, only they would preserve the "domestic institution" of the South. Those who sympathized with the Democratic party sympathized with those who fought for the Union and slavery, as opposed to those who fought for the Union and freedom. The whole of the North was resolved on war, but the Southerners were the authors of that war. They began it; and while claiming the right of maintaining slavery and extending it wherever they pleased, war seemed as inevitable as with a band of determined brigands. If they were our own near neighbors, and demanded as the price of peace the right to bring their slaves over the border and retain them as slaves, we must be always at war until they withdrew that claim; but they, not we, should be responsible for the evils such a war would entail. The inconsistencies of those who urged us to sympathize with the South were constant and glaring. That very day, in the special correspondence of *The Times*, dated Richmond, we were told that the negroes were so attached to slavery that the wives and children of their masters had been left in the midst of them unprotected, yet without any fear of injury. If this was the case, how absurd to condemn the President's proclamation as likely to lead to a general massacre! That the negroes would not resort to violence was well known in the North as well as the South; but it was also known that the proclamation would encourage them to escape when the opportunity was presented. The same writer said that the proclamation did not distress the Southerners, for it announced what had been already been done by the North from the beginning of the war—as they had always encouraged the escape of the slaves, and had actually served out rations to thousands of them! If the North had from the first emancipated and fed the negroes whenever they had the opportunity, what became of the charge so often made against Mr. Lincoln's government of insincerity as regarded abolition? The North were sometimes condemned in the same breath for upholding slavery and for violating the Constitution by putting it down! It must not be supposed that sympathizers with the North approved all the North had done. There might be different opinions about some parts of Northern policy; there might be no difference of opinion in denouncing certain outrages of individuals, whether North or South; but in a great conflict which, whatever its previous history, had come to be, by the confession of the parties themselves, a grand struggle between slavery and freedom, how could Englishmen be indifferent? The lecturer had just received a letter from a lady, who said, "I am shocked to hear you are in a minority about America. I cannot understand it. It is dreadful that Englishmen can hesitate for a moment. They say the Southerners are nicer. So, then, they will uphold a wicked man in his wicked deeds because, forsooth, he is a nice man! Alas for England! I am afraid all wickedness will be tolerated or even encouraged, if a man is only nice and pleasant and aristocratic." That was the virtuous indignation of a true-hearted Englishwoman, and would, be doubted not, be generally shared, when the truth of the case was better known. Sympathizers with the North would not much longer be "in a minority." But meanwhile what could be done individually by us towards putting an end to slavery? It had been said that England was dishonest in condemning a system which she herself supported by her trade, and that slavery would long ago have ceased had the slave-owners been unable to find a market here for their produce. Why, then, had we not long ago encouraged the growth of cotton in our own colonies and in India? Had this been done the American war would not have involved us in its disasters, for we should have had independent sources of supply. Why had this not been done? Because slave cotton was better and cheaper. So then we had practically been propping up slavery because we would not make this trifling sacrifice. Let us repent! Let us not demand that slave-owners should give up all their property in negroes, and we be unwilling to give up a penny or two on a yard of cotton. We could not compel them to do their duty, but we could do our own. If they resolved to grow cotton by slave labor, we were not compelled to buy it. It was said that large quantities of Indian and other free-grown cotton were in Liverpool warehouses, but that manufacturers were unwilling to risk the cost of manufacturing it, lest slave cotton might soon come in, and the free-cotton goods be under-sold. Thus our Lancashire operatives were kept unemployed. But if all true friends of freedom were to pledge themselves henceforth only to buy free-grown cotton, if thus a sure and steady demand were created, there would soon be a supply, and the cotton-grower in India and the colonies would be encouraged to supply the raw material and to improve its quality. There was already an organization for this purpose. Trustworthy vendors were to be appointed, who would guarantee that the cotton goods supplied by them were entirely of the free-grown material. Would not the support of such a movement be a more practical method of aiding abolition than by merely denouncing the upholders of slavery? It might be said that this was a question of political economy and not of morality, and must be regulated by the law of buying in the cheapest market. If one shop offered for sale goods of a superior quality and lower price than those of its rival, would it be right to purchase at that shop if it were known that it only dealt in stolen goods? Would political economy justify a breach of morality and sanction the aiding and abetting robbery? But all slave-grown cotton might be labelled "stolen goods." The labor that produced it was enforced—often with stripes, sometimes at the cost of life, always with robbery. What said the Bible? "Go to, now, ye rich men! Weep and howl for your miseries that shall come upon you. Your riches are corrupted, your garments are moth eaten. Your gold and your silver is cankered; and the rust of them shall be a witness against you, and shall eat your flesh as it were fire. Behold! the hire of the laborers who have reaped down your fields, which is of you kept back by fraud, crieth; and the cries of them which have reaped have entered into the ears of the Lord of Sabaoth." Let not Englishmen in any degree share in this crime, if they would escape the indignation of Him who looked down with impartial eye on master and servant, white man and black. Let them wash their hands of all participation in slavery; and let all friends of freedom throughout the country, whatever their differences of opinion in regard to the war, resolve never to purchase another yard of cotton branded with the mark "Stolen goods," stained with blood, and crying to God against those who keep back "the hire of the laborer."

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M. Cochin is an ex mayor and municipal councillor of the city of Paris. He has had great advantages for research among both public and private documents, and has devoted his life to the subject on which his forthcoming volume treats. He recently received the order of knighthood from the Pope, in acknowledgment of the ability displayed in this book, to which also was recently awarded the first prize of three thousand francs by the French Academy. 12 mo. $1.50. Sent FREE BY MAIL on receipt of the price.

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